# MEDIEVAL LITURGICAL CHANT AND PATRISTIC EXEGESIS

## Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts

EMMA HORNBY

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9

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## Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts

How do text and melody relate in Western liturgical chant? Is the music simply an abstract vehicle for the text, or does it articulate textual structure and meaning? These questions are addressed here through a case study of the second-mode tracts, lengthy and complex solo chants for Lent, which were created in the papal choir of Rome before the mid-eighth century. These partially formulaic chants function as exegesis, with non-syntactical text divisions and emphatic musical phrases promoting certain directions of inner meditation in both performers and listeners. Dr Hornby compares the four second-mode tracts of the core repertory to related ninth-century Frankish chants, showing that their structural and aesthetic principles are neither Frankish nor a function of their notation in the earliest extant manuscripts, but are instead a well-remembered written reflection of a long oral tradition, stemming from Rome.

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# Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis

## Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts

*Emma Hornby*

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# CONTENTS


*Acknowledgements* ix

*Abbreviations* xi

*A Note on the Musical Transcriptions* xiv

Introduction 1

1. The Origins of the Second-Mode Tract Texts 9

2. Psalter Divisions *per cola et commata* and Textual Grammar in the Structure of the Second-Mode Tracts 23

3. The Musical Grammar of the Second-Mode Tracts 41

4. Responses to Textual Meaning in the Second-Mode Tract Melodies 79

5. Genre and the Second-Mode Tracts 115

6. *Eripe me* and the Frankish Understanding of the Second-Mode Tracts in the Early-Ninth Century 136

7. The Understanding of the Genre in the Earliest Notated Witnesses: The Evidence of the Second-Mode Tracts Composed by *c.* 900 152

Conclusion 180

*Appendices*

1. Second-Mode Tract Texts, Translations, Parts of Speech and Melodic Phrases 185

2. Mass Proper Manuscripts Referred to in this Study, and the Repertory of Second-Mode Tracts Found in the Sample of Early Manuscripts 210

3. Facsimiles of *Audi filia* and *Diffusa est gratia* in *Lei*, and of the Second-Mode Tracts in *Fle1* and *Kor* 221

4. Analytical Tables of the Formulaic Phrases in *Fle1* and *Orc* 241

5. The Textual Tradition of the Core-Repertory Second-Mode Tracts and *Eripe me* 271

6. Transcriptions of the Chants Discussed in this Study 283

*Bibliography* 309

*Index* 319

# TABLES

Table 1 Text origins and liturgical assignments of the core-repertory second-mode tracts 2

Table 2 Gaulois Psalter readings in a single second-mode tract manuscript 12

Table 3 Second-mode tract text variants and Psalter alignments 13

Table 4 The exchange between '-bit' and '-uit' in *Qui habitat* 15

Table 5 Non-Psalter text variants in isolated manuscripts of the psalmic second-mode tracts 16

Table 6 Text variants in isolated manuscripts of *Domine audiui* 18

Table 7 Open and closed cadences in the Old Roman second-mode tracts 46

Table 8 Texts and translations of the relevant *Tituli Psalmorum* 82

Table 9 Emphatic phrases in *Qui habitat* 86

Table 10 Emphatic phrases in *Deus deus meus* 96

Table 11 Emphatic phrases in *Domine exaudi* 102

Table 12 Emphatic phrases in *Domine audiui* 108

Table 13 The textual structure of the second-mode tracts 118

Table 14 Generic designations of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the *Ordines Romani* 119

Table 15 Generic designations of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the Mass Proper sources 120

Table 16 Verse labels in *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the Mass Proper sources 123

Table 17 The textual structure of *De necessitatibus* 127

Table 18 Text divisions in *De necessitatibus* according to the syntax and the musical phrases 128

Table 19 Emphatic second-mode tract phrases in *De necessitatibus* 133

Table 20 Direct parallels between *Eripe me* and *Deus deus meus* 144

Table 21 Comparison of the text of the tract *Eripe me* and the offertory *Custodi me* 146

Table 22 Second-mode tracts appearing for the first time in ninth- or tenth-century manuscripts 153

Table 23 Alleluias and tracts assigned to the feasts of the Purification and Annunciation 155

Table 24 The textual tradition of *Diffusa est gratia* 160

Table 25 Syntactical forms associated with *comma* * 165

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *AMS* | René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935). |
| *AOFGC* | Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, 1998) |
| BL | British Library |
| BNF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina |
| *CR* | Andreas Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik II (Paderborn, 2002). |
| PL | Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris: Garnier, 1844–55). |
| PM | Paléographie musicale |
| *WP* | David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). |

Details of manuscript sigla are given overleaf.

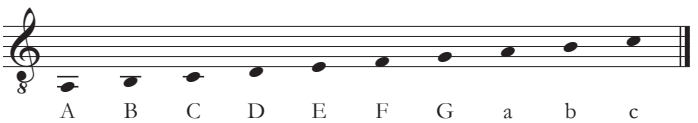
| SIGLUM | LIBRARY AND SHELFMARK |
|---|---|
| *Aki2* | SALAMANCA, Bibl. Universitaria, MS 2637 |
| *Aki3* | LANGRES, Grand Seminary, MS 312 |
| *Aki4* | PARIS, BNF, MS n. a. lat. 1177 |
| *Aki5* | ALBI, Bibliothèque municipale Rochegude, MS 44 |
| *Alb* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 776 |
| *All1* | MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS L 77 sup. |
| *Bab1* | BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek, MS lit. 6 |
| *Bec* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1105 |
| *Ben5* | BENEVENTO, Biblioteca capitolare, MS VI.34 |
| *Bis2* | BESANÇON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 79 |
| *Bob2* | TURIN, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS G. V. 20 |
| *Bre* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 366 |
| *Cant2* | DURHAM, Cathedral Library, MS Cosin V.V.6 |
| *Cha1* | CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 47 |
| *Cha3* | CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 520 |
| *Clu1* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1087 |
| *Coc6* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 17436 |
| *Com2* | VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 186 |
| *Cor2* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12050 |
| *Cor3* | TRIER, Dombibliothek, MS 433 (142); CLEVELAND, Museum of Art Illumination 33, 446; BERLIN, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, MS 1400 |
| *Crow* | LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 3759 |
| *Den1* | PARIS, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS384 |
| *Den5* | LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 118 |
| *Den6* | VATICAN, MS Ottob. Lat. 313 |
| *Den7* | PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 111 |
| *Dij1* | MONTPELLIER, Faculté de médecine, MS H.159 |
| *Dij2* | BRUSSELS, Bibl. royale, MS II 3824 |
| *Eli* | *Private Collection*('MS du Mont-Renaud'). |
| *Ext2* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 579 |
| *Fle1* | ANGERS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 91 |
| *Gal1* | ST GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 359 |
| *Gal2* | SAINT GALL, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 339 |
| *Iri* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 892 |
| *Itn1* | VATICAN, MS Rossi 231 |
| *Ivr1* | IVREA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 60 |
| *Klo1* | GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807 |
| *Kor* | WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 510 Helmst |
| *Lan* | LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 239 |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Laon266* | LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266 |
| *Lav* | ROME, Biblioteca angelica, MS 123 |
| *Lei* | LEIPZIG, University Library, MS Rep.I.93 |
| *Leo3* | BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10127-10144 |
| *Luc1* | LUCCA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 606 |
| *Mal1* | PARIS, BNF, lat 1132 |
| *Mal3* | PARIS, BNF, lat 1121 |
| *Mal4* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 909 |
| *Mog4* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 340 |
| *Mon6* | MONZA, Basilica s. Giovanni, MS CIX |
| *Mor4* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12584 |
| *Mur3* | EINSIEDELN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 121 |
| *Nar* | PARIS, BNF, MS 780 |
| *Nov2* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222 |
| *Noy1* | LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 857 |
| *Noy3* | REIMS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 213 (E. 320) |
| *Orc* | COLOGNY-GENÈVE, private collection (Martin Bodmer MS 74) |
| *Orj* | ROME, Vatican, MS Lat. 5319 |
| *Orp* | ROME, San Pietro, MS F22 |
| *Pas2* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 354 |
| *Rag* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 342 |
| *Rei5* | ZURICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 30 |
| *Rog1* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 904 |
| *Sab* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 358 |
| *Sam1* | VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque municipale MS 121 |
| *Sam2* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 2291 |
| *Sar1* | LONDON, BL, Additional MS 12194 |
| *Stm* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 350 |
| *Tou* | LONDON, BL, MS Harleian 4951 |
| *Tyr* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 341 |
| *Vaa1* | CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 75 |
| *Vec1* | VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 161 |
| *Vin2* | OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 775 |
| *Vor1* | WORCESTER, Chapter Library, MS F. 160 |
| *Yrx* | PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 903 |

Full details about dating, provenance, manuscript type, notation and editions or facsimiles of these manuscripts may be found in Appendix 2.

# A NOTE ON THE MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

Where musical pitch is referred to in the text, I follow the Guidonian practice:




The pitches of the Romano-Frankish transcriptions are taken from *Cha3*, while reflecting the neuming found in *Fle1*. Notes under a slur are notated with a single penstroke in *Fle1*, except for the pressus major which, despite comprising an oriscus and a punctum in two separate pen strokes, is always transcribed with a slur over the two elements. The sign which is used in Breton notation for both the oriscus and the quilisma is consistently transcribed here as a single x-shaped note head. This sign occasionally appears as the first element of a porrectus, and in these cases I have transcribed the neume as an x-shaped note head followed by two ordinary note heads, with all three elements joined under a slur. The virga with a hook to the right is a descending liquescence, transcribed consistently as indicating two notes, and the virga preceded by a lower hook to the left is an ascending liquescence, also transcribed as indicating two notes. The sign reminiscent of a number 9 does not signal a neume, but is a syllable divider. I have transcribed the text as presented in *Fle1*, even when there are lexical or other variants, with the exception of the verse ordering and numbering of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, for which I have followed the standard outline of the Romano-Frankish tradition.

The Old Roman transcriptions are taken from *Orc* and, as with the Romano-Frankish transcriptions, slurs over notes are used to indicate that all appear within the same penstroke in the manuscript. One apparently ornamental neume shaped rather like ~ is transcribed as an x-shaped notehead. I interpret each liquescent sign (and there are many in *Orc*) as adding an extra element to the existing neume.[1] The liquescent sign combining a vertical penstroke with diagonal ~ across it is transcribed as two notes, the second (and liquescent one) higher than the first.

1 In this I follow Thomas H. Connolly, 'The "Graduale" of S. Cecilia in Trastevere and the Old Roman Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 413–58.

In the transcriptions and in the main text, accented syllables are indicated where necessary by an acute accent (´) over the vowel, or over one of the Guidonian pitch letters within the relevant string of pitch letters.

# INTRODUCTION

A SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE to hearing liturgical chant might well highlight its apparently simple beauty and its spiritual qualities, in which the architectural space, the tone quality of the singers, and the imagery and style of CD cover design might also play a role. Such a response might also focus on the way in which liturgical chant provides an acoustic and temporal space for meditation or prayer. And, within such a spontaneous response, one might also find a certain resistance to the idea of looking more closely at the textual and musical techniques which underlie the repertory. Is there not a danger that an appreciation of the beauty of chant and of its potential for mediating a spiritual experience will be lost under the scholarly microscope? The primary aim of this book is to demonstrate the opposite, through a case study of a single genre of liturgical chant, the second-mode tracts. By looking closely at the compositional principles of this genre, we can begin to appreciate not just the melodies' beauty, but the melodies' structured beauty. We can uncover the intimate way in which the musical shape articulates the text, helping listeners to follow the semantic and syntactical rhythm of the prose text as it passes by them, and thus to appreciate not just an attractive sound, but also a holy text.[1] Furthermore, peculiarities of the melodic construction draw particular attention to certain words or phrases which, as I shall show, were important within the patristic tradition of exegetical commentary on these biblical texts. The second-mode tracts provide more than an acoustic and temporal space for meditation and prayer. The words highlighted by the melodic emphases guide the meditation of listeners in particular directions, connected to the theological themes of the biblical text and of the feast day.

A tract, broadly speaking, is a solo chant, sung straight through without repeats, which replaces the alleluia between the readings of the Mass during penitential times of year, especially Lent.[2] Tracts appear in two melodic families, categorised within

1 In many medieval listeners a certain level of Latin competence and familiarity with the biblical text would have been assumed. On the place of psalm and canticle texts in medieval monastic education, see, *inter alia*, Susan Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (eds.), *Medieval Monastic Education* (Leicester, 2000), 7–20.

2 This simplified definition is qualified in Chapter 5, where I assemble the evidence pertaining to the medieval definition of the genre, considering nomenclature, liturgical position, textual structure and performance practice as well as musical structure. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to define as second-mode tracts those chants which belong to a single melodic family, using common formulaic material in cognate ways, and departing from it in similar ways and for similar purposes. *De necessitatibus* is often identified as a second-mode tract and analysed in conjunction with the

the church modes which emerged in the ninth century as eighth-mode tracts and second-mode tracts respectively. The second-mode tracts are the subject of this study; the modal classification indicates the final note and tonal 'home' of each chant (*D*), the main pitch which is used within syllabic recitation passages (*F*), and the range of each chant (surrounding the final *D*, from *A* to *a* or, exceptionally, $b^{\flat}$). The core repertory of four second-mode tracts (see Table 1) can be traced back to late-eighth-century

**Table 1.** Text origins and liturgical assignments of the core-repertory second-mode tracts

| TRACT | TEXT ORIGIN[a] | LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT |
|---|---|---|
| *Qui habitat* | Psalm 90 [91]: 1–7, 11–16 | Quadragesima Sunday |
| *Deus deus meus* | Psalm 21 [22]: 2–9, $18_2$–19, 22, 24, 32 | Passion Sunday |
| *Domine exaudi* | Psalm 101 [102]: 2–5 and 14 | Wednesday of Holy Week |
| *Domine audiui* | Habakkuk 3: 2–3 | Good Friday |
| *Qui habitat* | Psalm 90 [91]: 1–7, 11–16 | Good Friday (until 9th c.) |

[a] Each begins at the start of a psalm/canticle; the first verses of Psalm 21 [22], Psalm 101 [102] and Habakkuk 3 comprise titles. *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* each include the last verse of their psalm. In this study, the Roman Psalter, Vulgate or Septuagint verse numberings are used as appropriate, with the Psalm numbering generally found in English Bible translations included in square brackets.

northern Europe and, from there, to mid-eighth-century Rome and perhaps earlier, as will be explored in Chapter 1. These four chants are sung during some of the most important Lenten feasts, and their length and complexity makes them a formidable challenge for singers. This has long been appreciated: Angilram, bishop of Metz (768–91), explicitly included *Qui habitat* (twice), *Deus deus meus* and *Domine exaudi* in his list of *stipendia* as chants so difficult that their performance would be rewarded with extra renumeration.[3] The demands these tracts – the longest of which take more than ten minutes to perform[4] – place on singers has led to a recurring interest in the second-mode tracts by scholars seeking to show how the chant repertory might have been transmitted before musical notation became regularly used as an aide-mémoire.[5] The construction of the second-mode tracts, on a broad scale, makes them ideal candidates for such investigation. They are regu-

rest of the genre, but I believe this to be a mistaken classification of a gradual which shares melodic material and some formal characteristics, but not fundamental compositional processes, with the second-mode tracts.

3 Edited with commentary in Michel Andrieu, 'Règlement d'Angilramme de Metz (768–791) fixant les honoraires de quelques fonctions liturgiques', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 10 (1930), 349–69.

4 For example, *Deus deus meus* takes 12'5" on the CD *Ieremias* by Vox Clamantis, directed by Jaan-Eik Tulve (Arion ARN 68602, 2002).

5 The oral origin of the second-mode tracts was asserted in 1974 by Treitler: see Leo Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), 333–72. The oral characteristics of the second-mode tracts have since been discussed in magisterial detail by Karp, whose focus is on the oral processes of composition, transmission and cross-fertilisation with chants of other genres: see *AOFGC*, especially essays 3–8. Pfisterer has taken a different approach to a similar end: he finds that the patterns of variants in the early Romano-Frankish manuscripts reveal a primarily oral rather than written transmission: see *CR*.

larly described as 'formulaic', with particular melodic phrases recurring in specific formal and textual contexts,[6] and their formulaic character would indeed have been an important part of their memorability. Each second-mode tract consists of an apparently unpredictable mixture of formulaic material with unique ('idiomelic') phrases and extended rhapsodic melismas. It is the interplay between these elements, rather than the memorability of the formulaic passages, which is my main concern here.

## The primary evidence

The Mass Proper chants were the chants sung within the Mass by the most expert singers of a medieval religious establishment. As the Mass Proper repertory evolved, fixed texts and melodies became associated with fixed days of the year. The first surviving manuscripts containing the texts of these Mass Proper chants date from the end of the eighth century, and the first surviving manuscripts containing their melodies from c. 880; all are from the Frankish Empire. The first complete Roman manuscript is another two hundred years later, dated 1071. In preparing this study, I consulted as many as possible of the relevant Western European manuscripts dating from the early-tenth century or before, and the three surviving Roman Graduals.[7]

Consultation of these early sources confirms that the second-mode tracts were transmitted as largely fixed pieces by the late-ninth century, both melodically and textually. Some variants indicate a continuing degree of performative flexibility in the matters of ornamentation and precise melodic outline.[8] Other variants suggest a gradual process of standardisation, while further variants are the result of different interpretations of text accents.[9] Small-scale variants which do not affect the overall shape of the melody are not of major concern in this study per se; large-scale variants are extremely rare. I have ensured that my analytical findings do not hold only for localised versions of the second-mode tracts.

*Fle1*, a tenth-century Breton Gradual, is the basis of the transcribed musical examples in this book.[10] The lack of a facsimile edition means that the manuscript

6 The basic formal structure has been well understood since Schmidt's rigorous analysis of the 1950s: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954); 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones'; and 'Untersuchungen' (1958).

7 Appendix 2 contains information about these manuscripts, references to printed and online facsimiles and a table summarising which second-mode tracts are found in each manuscript. The table also notes the presence or absence of the related gradual *De necessitatibus*, which is the focus of Chapter 5. Appendix 2 also includes summary information about later Mass Proper manuscripts referred to in the text. It does not include chants which have been added to a manuscript after the main body was copied.

8 A discussion of the nature of the variants found in Mass Proper chants and their implications for our understanding of chant transmission may be found in Emma Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Evaluating Kenneth Levy's Reading of the Evidence', *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004), 418–57: 422–43.

9 As demonstrated exhaustively in *CR*.

10 The relevant folios of *Fle1* are reproduced in Appendix 3, and complete transcriptions from

has often been neglected in the scholarly literature,[11] and the notational sophistication of early manuscripts from the Saint Gall and Laon regions (such as *Lan*, *Gal1*, *Gal2* and *Mur3*) has made them the focus of much more scholarly attention in modern times; use of *Fle1* here is intended to act as a partial corrective.[12] *Fle1* appears to have been compiled by a connoisseur of the second-mode tracts, or at least compiled in an institution where considerable interest in composing and/or collecting second-mode tracts had been a priority in the past, since it includes eight second-mode tracts beyond the core repertory and the widely transmitted ninth-century Frankish chant *Eripe me*. *Fle1* has no special claim to authority, but it is broadly representative of the wider European tradition. The melodic detail of *Fle1* is of course contradicted by that of other manuscripts, but this would be the case with any manuscript chosen as the basis of a transcription. The nature of the variants between manuscripts, however, means that one would compile essentially the same analysis regardless of the manuscript chosen: at earlier stages in this project I based my melodic analysis firstly on the twelfth-century German Gradual *Klo1* and subsequently on the twelfth-century Beneventan Gradual *Ben5*, and my conclusions have not altered with the presentational shift to the Breton tradition.[13] In the transcribed examples, pitches have been supplied from *Cha3*, an early-thirteenth-century Chartres Missal.[14] The two manuscripts are generally melodically compatible and share almost the same repertory of second-mode tracts, although of course the origins of *Cha3* lie rather further east than those of *Fle1*.

## Comparative analysis of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions

The familiar repertory of medieval Western chant is commonly known as Gregorian chant. The term 'Gregorian' is misleading, since it implies a repertory which is certainly Roman, and perhaps connected to Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604). The chant usually labelled as 'Gregorian' is instead the result of an eighth-century adoption of Roman chant across the Carolingian Empire, as transmitted through late-ninth-century northern European manuscripts, and the term 'Romano-Frankish' more closely reflects its historical context. While *Fle1* contains this synthesis

*Fle1* of the chants discussed in this study are given in Appendix 6.

11 *CR* is an honourable exception to this. I have not encountered a dating more specific than 'tenth century'.

12 My motivations are similar to those of Haggh and Huglo, who advise scholars 'to reconfigure our early history of chant, taking central Gaul into account as much as the Carolingian court and the centres from which we have manuscripts': see Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, 'Réôme, Cluny, Dijon', in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), 49–64: 57.

13 For detailed consideration of melodic variants within the manuscript tradition of the second-mode tracts, I refer readers to the exhaustive work of Pfisterer, whose work informs the current study: see *CR*.

14 David Hiley (ed.), *Chartres Codex 520. Faksimile der Handschrift von Chartres, Einführung, Register, Gebete, Lesungen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 4 (Kassel, 1992).

of Roman chant with Frankish culture – the Romano-Frankish repertory – the surviving Mass Proper manuscripts from Rome itself (*Orc*, *Orj* and *Orp*) contain a separate melodic dialect, known as Old Roman chant since it is the chant found in Rome before it was replaced by the wider European chant tradition in the thirteenth century. I use *Orc* as the basis of the transcribed Old Roman musical examples in this book, while also taking the evidence of *Orj* and *Orp* into account.[15]

Defining the musical and historical relationship between Old Roman and Romano-Frankish chant remains the 'central problem' of chant scholarship, more than fifty years after Willi Apel's eponymous article.[16] The two traditions generally use the same text in a given liturgical context, leading to the working hypothesis that they share a common eighth-century Roman origin. In recent years, a detailed picture of the relationship has begun to emerge through close comparisons of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish expressions of individual genres. In some genres, such as the offertories, there may be little or no discernible melodic relationship between cognate chants (that is, chants of the same genre with the same text), or they may share goal tones, melodic density and ambitus.[17] In other genres, such as the eighth-mode tracts, the two traditions are essentially equivalent, being constructed on exactly the same formal principles.[18] While isolated Romano-Frankish pieces such as the Easter vigil tracts are found in the Old Roman manuscripts, they stand out stylistically 'like water from oil'.[19] Occasional Old Roman chant readings suggest 'contamination' by Romano-Frankish versions but, in the main, there does not seem to be a great deal of influence of the Romano-Frankish chant back into the Old Roman melodic idiom, which is quite different in style.[20] The two traditions thus appear to have gone along largely separate paths after the late-eighth century.

There have been comparative analyses of the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish second-mode tracts in the past, but none have fully integrated the analysis of the two traditions.[21] Parallel consideration of the two traditions, together with the

15 A colour facsimile of *Orc* is available at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>. Transcriptions of the chants discussed in this study may be found in Appendix 6.

16 Willi Apel, 'The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9 (1956), 118–27.

17 Rebecca Maloy, 'The Offertory Chant: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission' (Ph.D. thesis, Cincinnati University, 2001); Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York and Oxford, forthcoming).

18 Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot, 2002).

19 James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley, 2000), 132.

20 See *WP*, 561. For examples of chants known to have been transmitted to Rome from Francia, and which took on Roman stylistic features, see Edward Nowacki, 'Constantinople–Aachen–Rome: The Transmission of *Veterem hominem*', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), 95–115. There is extensive discussion of this issue in Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

21 Schmidt was the first to compare the Romano-Frankish and Old Roman second-mode tracts: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones'. Karp's analysis of the chants is particularly valuable because it combines a close reading of the cognate chants in the two repertories with

working assumption that a common structural procedure underlies the surviving melodies, is central to uncovering the genre's constructive principles in this book, and confirmation of the common ancestry of the two traditions in this genre is a by-product of my analysis. In general, the second-mode tracts in the two traditions are equivalent in range, goal tones, melodic density and structural procedure, usually having analogous versions of the different phrase shapes used under the same circumstances.[22] The Old Roman version is generally more melodically profuse than the Romano-Frankish, tends to move by step rather than by leap, and regularly switches between the two tenor notes *F* and *D* where the Romano-Frankish tradition tends to concentrate on one of them at a time.[23] It is not possible to confirm which is closer to the idiom of their shared eighth-century ancestor, if either, and I do not attempt to establish the precedence of one melodic dialect over the other. It is also problematic to claim precedence of the structural principles of either reading in a passage where the two traditions are not in parallel: one version may have lost a formulaic phrase and supplied an idiomelic phrase or an alternative formulaic phrase; one version may have lost an idiomelic phrase and replaced it with a formulaic phrase; one version may have followed a textual cue while the other followed a formal cue. There will also have been variants, within the grammar of the genre, which were sung and perhaps notated in some places, but have not been preserved. In general, I tend towards the view that, within an oral tradition, changes to a melody are more likely to move towards rather than away from a stereotyped profile.[24] Comparative analysis of the surviving Old Roman and Romano-Frankish melodies thus makes it possible to guess at characteristics of their common ancestor, the eighth-century Roman chant adopted throughout the Carolingian empire.

## Analytical terminology

Many scholars have recognised the close relationship between the structure of the second-mode tracts and the structures of the psalm verses, using the terminology of simple psalmody to describe the tract verse structure: 'intonation' for the first phrase in the verse, cadencing on *D*; 'mediation' for the mid-verse cadence on *C*; 'flex' for the *F* cadence within the second half of the verse; and 'final' for the *D* cadence ending the verse.[25] Karp instead labels phrases according to their

consideration of melodic and formulaic connections with other chants. However, he considers the two traditions separately before combining his findings, even adopting numbers for the formulas used in one tradition and letters for those used in the other: see *AOFGC*.

22 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 285–7; see also *AOFGC*, 318.

23 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 291, 294.

24 This is a view shared by both Pfisterer and Maloy: see *CR*, and Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

25 See, for example, Olivier Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens: un témoin de la psalmodie sans refrain' (Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1990), 227; Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), 323–4; Helmut Hucke, 'Tract', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. XIX (London, 1980), 108–10: 110; Helmut Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', in Martin Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*

cadence notes, with subscripts to show the groups of related phrases ($C_{10a}$ or $D_{53}$, for example). I have not adopted the same labels because my interpretation of the structure of the genre is not always identical to his, and use of almost the same labelling system with variations according to my differing analytical interpretations would cause considerable confusion. Apel's similar labels with subscripts are equally inconvenient for use here. I use the labels **1**, **2**, **3** and **4** to refer to the phrases in a second-mode tract verse. Phrase **1** cadences on *D* and is followed by phrase **2** cadencing on C at the half-verse caesura. The second verse half begins with phrase **3** cadencing on *F* and ends with phrase **4** cadencing on *D*. Each of the four formal contexts has a limited set of phrase shapes associated with it; I label each of these phrase shapes with an alphabetical subscript (**2a**, **3a** etc.). Phrases or less independent melodic units which occur in more than one formal context are labelled **V**, **W**, **X**, **Y** and **Z**, to show their freedom from the usual formal associations. Each occurrence of each formulaic phrase type in *Fle1* and *Orc* is transcribed in Appendix 4.

My disinclination to label tract phrases according to the divisions of simple psalmody, shared by several other scholars,[26] is based on the fact that such generic psalmodic labels disguise rather than reveal the variety of melodic shapes used in different verses and the way in which textual structure and meaning affects the melodic shapes used, on the level of small melodic fragments and on the level of musical phrases. To use the terminology of psalm tones also suggests that the psalmodic skeleton was an important structural principle. Instead, although subconscious awareness of tonal goals was often important, 'on the level of technique the singers depended on their awareness of different series of motivic groups'.[27]

## Summary

Chapter 1 explores the textual evidence supporting the hypothesis that both the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish core-repertory second-mode tracts are Roman in origin, with the textual variants tabulated in Appendix 5. Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the importance of textual structure and syntax in the phrase divisions of the chants. Appendix 1 contains accompanying analytical tables consisting of the texts arranged according to the musical phrase divisions, together with translations, parts of speech, and the melodic shape used for each portion of text. Chapter 3 consists of a general analysis of the second-mode tracts, identifying each of the phrase shapes associated with each position in the verse, as well as phrase shapes associated with particular verses, phrase shapes associated with particular accent patterns, words or syntactical structures, and phrase shapes whose function is emphatic. These chapters provide the necessary background for Chapter 4,

(Kassel and New York, 1967), 116–20: 116; Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 284–5; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 42. Unlike the other scholars here, Apel uses 'flex' for the mid-verse cadence and 'mediation' for the *F* cadence in the middle of the second verse half, which has no precedent in the terminology of simple psalm recitation.

26 See *WP*, 85, and McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 289.

27 *AOFGC*, 112.

in which I attempt to account for the occasions on which the second-mode tract melodies depart from the formulaic system. While the formulaic structure of the genre is well understood, the factors governing the choice of phrase shape have not been satisfactorily identified and there has previously been almost no consideration of why unique phrase shapes are sometimes used, beyond assertions that they were an original and integral part of the genre.[28] I argue that the chant melodies not only embody a response to the accent patterns and textual grammar, but also promote a particular exegetical interpretation of and meditation on a given text during its performance as a second-mode tract.

The understanding of the second-mode tracts outlined in the first half of the book forms the foundation for a consideration in the second half, firstly in Chapter 5 of the complex generic delineation of the second-mode tracts in the Middle Ages, and then, in Chapters 6 and 7, of the way the genre developed and was understood in northern Europe through the ninth century. Tract composition continued after the Carolingian adoption of Roman chant and, by *c.* 850, *Qui habitat* had been replaced on Good Friday by a newly composed Frankish chant, *Eripe me* (discussed in Chapter 6). *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es petrus*, composed in northern Europe during the late-ninth century, appear in manuscripts which can confidently be dated to *c.* 920 or earlier. The melodic outlines and the notational details of these four chants are investigated in Chapter 7 (with analytical tables provided in Appendix 1 and transcriptions in Appendix 6). The earliest surviving notated examples of second-mode tracts, including the core-repertory chants and *Eripe me*, date from the end of the ninth century. The lateness of the earliest notated sources raises a large methodological question: do the earliest extant versions of the core-repertory chants and *Eripe me* reflect a more-or-less intact transmission through the ninth century, or are they instead late-ninth-century melodies, albeit with texts used in those liturgical contexts at least since the time of Angilram of Metz (768–91)? The close reading of *Eripe me*, *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es petrus* sheds light on how the genre was understood in the early- and later-ninth centuries, respectively, making it possible to assess the likely impact of an increasingly notated musical culture on the aesthetic and melodic outlines of the core-repertory second-mode tracts. I conclude that the text/music relationship established in the first half of the book is unlikely to be a ninth-century phenomenon connected to a notated chant culture, but was probably in place in the eighth-century Roman repertory adopted by the Franks.

While this study is based on the close analysis of a limited number of chants within a single genre, its implications are far reaching for our appreciation of the potential theological resonances of Western liturgical chant, and also for our understanding of the relationship between the melodies as first encountered in the late-ninth-century sources and the melodic tradition as it was understood for a century or more before that.

28 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 302; Richard Crocker, 'Chants of the Roman Mass', in Richard Crocker and David Hiley (eds.), *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, The New Oxford History of Music, vol. II (2nd edn, Oxford, 1990), 174–222: 212.

# I

## THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACT TEXTS

It is possible that the origins of the second-mode tracts are as old as the fourth century, when the Lenten liturgical cycle from Quadragesima to Easter came into being.[1] The tracts have frequently been singled out as a particularly ancient genre: the great length of *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* in particular has often been seen as a remnant of the fourth-century practice of singing an entire psalm *in directum* (straight through, without repeats or refrains).[2] In the early Church, the music heard between the readings of the Mass consisted of psalms sung by a soloist or 'lector', with congregational responds. There was no fixed repertory. Instead, psalms were chosen and melodies used, or improvised, on an ad hoc basis.[3] At some point in the early Middle Ages, there was a repertorial and institutional shift to 'schola' chant, whereby a fixed repertory of proper texts and melodies (graduals, alleluias, tracts etc.) was sung in the Mass in an annual cycle by clerics or monastics whose primary duty was singing. Pinpointing the timing and nature of this shift and of the emergence of the Mass Proper repertory would be critical to establishing the likely dating of the second-mode tracts in anything approximating their current textual, musical and generic state, but this continues to exercise scholars.

In *The Advent Project*, McKinnon argued that the Mass Proper repertory was composed (or at least compiled) by the papal *schola cantorum* of secular canons based at St John in the Lateran, Rome, in a conscious project in the later-seventh century.[4] This hypothesis has been challenged by several reviewers,[5] perhaps most

1 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 357–8.

2 Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft* (Hildesheim, 1962), 87–8, 352; see also Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 1; Joseph Dyer, 'Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984), 11–30: 21.

3 See McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 62–3; James McKinnon, 'Lector Chant versus Schola Chant: A Question of Historical Plausibility', in David Hiley and Janka Szendrei (eds.), *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1995), 201–11.

4 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*. The hypothesis is summarised on pp. 356–74. On the institution of the *schola cantorum*, see Joseph Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins of Western Music Theory', in László Dobszay *et al.* (eds.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting. Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest, 1990), 199–225: 215; see also Joseph Dyer, 'The Schola Cantorum and its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et Cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), 19–40.

5 See, for example, Peter Jeffery, 'Review', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 168–79; Joseph Dyer, 'Review', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 279–309; Susan Rankin,

notably by Pfisterer, who argues persuasively that the repertory evolved gradually over several centuries, and was substantially complete by the early-seventh century.[6] Pfisterer's dating of some chant texts to as early as the fifth century is less convincing, however. Securely dated versions of biblical texts do not necessarily map directly onto securely datable versions of chant texts since older versions of biblical texts are not necessarily put aside as soon as new ones are made. Instead, chant compilers may have drawn on texts old and new, including pre-existing liturgical texts, and for some chants they certainly paraphrased existing biblical texts in creating 'libretti' for liturgical chants.[7] Identifying the version of a biblical text used in a particular chant may help to secure its geographical origin and its *terminus a quo*, but cannot be used to identify a *terminus ante quem*. Also, the early association of a particular biblical text with a particular liturgical occasion confirms a similarly early date neither for the music now associated with it nor indeed for the precise selection and structure of the text. Despite the very probably ancient association of at least the second-mode tract texts *Deus deus meus* (Psalm 21 [22]) and *Qui habitat* (Psalm 90 [91]) with their respective feast days,[8] the likelihood of purposeful alteration and gradual evolution to both the musical state and also the textual selection between their origins and their earliest surviving sources means that it would be foolhardy to assume continuity of melodic substance or musical style much before the late-seventh century.[9]

Despite doubts about the detail of McKinnon's *Advent Project* hypothesis, the role of the papal *schola* in gathering and transmitting the Mass Proper repertory in the later-seventh and early-eighth century remains crucial. According to *Ordo Romanus I*, dated *c.* 700, the Roman *schola cantorum*, responsible for the performance of the stational Papal Mass, sang fixed texts consistently on their assigned feast days each year. The institution of the *schola cantorum*, together with its chant repertory, began to be adopted by the Franks during and after the visit of Pope Stephen to Francia from 753 to 754/5. The pope had a large entourage with him, including members of his *schola cantorum*, and the establishment by Bishop Chrodegang (d. 766) of a *schola cantorum* at Metz (attested to in his *Regula canonicorum*), consisting of clerics living in community and dedicated to the performance of the liturgy, is

'Review', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002), 73–82.

6 Unlike McKinnon, Pfisterer sees the eighth- and ninth-century Frankish chant sources as reflecting early Roman liturgical practice more closely than the eleventh-century Roman ones, and sees the surviving seventh-century Roman liturgical books as preserving different liturgies for different purposes rather than demonstrating a straightforward chronological evolution: see *CR*; see also Andreas Pfisterer, 'James McKinnon und die Datierung des gregorianischen Chorals', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 85 (2001), 31–53. For a comparison of the arguments of Pfisterer and McKinnon, see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 5, 'Origin and Chronology'.

7 This term was coined by Kenneth Levy in 'Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul', *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 49–99.

8 Peter Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading and the Emerging Roman Chant Repertory', in Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas and Timothy Striplin (eds.), *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium* (Aldershot, 2003), 45–103: 65 and 69.

9 Peter Jeffery also adheres to this view: 'my own research . . . convinces me that many of these texts grew and changed over many centuries, in constant reciprocity with related texts and melodies, with the written Bible, and with the oral reading and preaching of the liturgy': 'Review' (2003), 174.

a clear manifestation of this Roman influence.[10] Pippin's son Charlemagne and his advisers attempted to unify the liturgy of the entire empire, including the unification of chant, and they turned to Rome for their models. By *c.* 800 all Frankish monasteries and cathedrals were singing basically the same repertory of *schola* chant, which they considered to be Roman.

While the Frankish propaganda suggests that their liturgy was authentically Roman, the extent to which this propaganda is borne out in historical fact seems to vary widely, even between genres within the Mass Proper repertory:[11] the core-repertory eighth-mode tracts are certainly Roman in origin,[12] but the genesis of the offertory and its verses was much more complex, with some chants being of Gallican, Mozarabic or Milanese origin.[13] In the following discussion, I outline the textual origins of the second-mode tract texts, explore the nature of their textual variants in the early surviving sources, and summarise the (minimal) impact of textual variants on melodic shape in the early neumed manuscripts.

## The psalmic chants

The small number of surviving pre-Carolingian Psalters makes it difficult to pinpoint the origins of many textual variants in liturgical chants.[14] In general, pre-Carolingian Gallican chants are likely to have used one of the 'gaulois' Psalter translations.[15] The Gallican Psalter,[16] spreading from Tours under the influence of Alcuin,[17] was used for the office psalms and also for introit and communion verses since, based on recitation tones rather than composed melodies, these were easily adapted to the preferred text of the Carolingian liturgists. Newly composed Carolingian chants also tended to use the Gallican Psalter text, as will be seen in Chapter 7. Presence of a Roman Psalter text, the version of the psalms used liturgically in Rome, Italy and England throughout the early Middle Ages, in a Romano-Frankish chant which consistently appears in the repertory from the earliest written sources

10 On the papal visit, see, *inter alia*, Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis* (Oxford, 1991), 23–9.

11 On the limited success of the unification in most areas of liturgy, and the possibility that the Romanisation of chant was, by contrast, largely achieved, see Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant', 423–6.

12 Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*.

13 This is a central theme of Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

14 For a clear introduction to the different psalter families, see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 2, subsection 'Psalter sources'.

15 These are included, as a subsection of the Old Latin Psalter tradition, in the critical apparatus of Robert Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Rome, 1953).

16 This is Jerome's Latin edition, made after 386, of Origen's Greek Hexapla, which corrected the Septuagint against the Hebrew. Jerome's translation from *c.* 400 directly from the Hebrew, the Psalter *Iuxta Hebraeos*, was not used in Carolingian Bibles and liturgy. A useful summary of the history of the Latin Psalter is given in Dyer, 'Latin Psalters', 11–12.

17 Although Alcuin's Bible was not universally accepted: see Rosamund McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours Anomaly', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge, 1994), 63–77.

is a useful first indication of its probable Roman origin.[18] The three psalmic second-mode tracts of the core repertory (*Deus deus meus*, *Domine exaudi* and *Qui habitat*) are all based on the Roman Psalter.

Very occasionally, a tract text is aligned with the gaulois Psalter tradition in contradiction to the Roman Psalter. In *Qui habitat* verse 4, the tract text and the gaulois Psalter version γ have 'pennis' rather than 'pinnis'.[19] Such an isolated and minor variant is of course insufficient to suggest a pre-Carolingian Gallican origin for the tract text. Similarly, in verse 13 of *Qui habitat*, the usual reading in the tract is 'longitudinem', found in γ and δ, rather than the ablative 'longitudine' of the Roman Psalter.[20] However, 'longitudinem' is also encountered occasionally in the Roman Psalter tradition and it need not signal a Gallican influence on the text.

On a handful of occasions, a single chant manuscript has a reading which correlates with one of the gaulois Psalter traditions rather than with the Gallican or Roman Psalter (see Table 2). These are likely to be localised lexical variants rather than reflecting some influence of the gaulois tradition. Indeed, *Den5* is not even consistently aligned with the same gaulois Psalter tradition on the two occasions where such a variant occurs.

**Table 2.** Gaulois Psalter readings in a single second-mode tract manuscript

| TRACT VERSE | NORMAL TEXT | VARIANT | MANUSCRIPT | PSALTER(S) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Deus deus meus* 3 | 'exaudies' | 'exaudias' | *Den5* | ε |
| *Qui habitat* 1 | 'adiutorio' | 'adiutorium' | *Den5* | δ |
| *Qui habitat* 13 | 'salutare' | 'salutarem' | *Mon6* | γ, δ |

The alignment of the tract texts with the Roman Psalter is made clear by the summary Table 3 (full tabular comparisons of the tract texts with the Roman, gaulois and Gallican Psalters are given in Appendix 5). An empty box indicates that, for the given portion of text, the Psalter tradition in question is compatible with the tract.

The variants in Table 3 range from being small both semantically and aurally (for example, 'conspexerunt'/'inspexerunt') to major ('sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt'/'sicut gremium aruerunt'/'sicut [in] frictorium confricta sunt'). The largest variants are between the Roman Psalter/tract tradition and the Gallican Psalter, but there is also clear differentiation of the Roman Psalter/tract tradition from the gaulois tradition.

18 The Roman Psalter may be Jerome's revision of an Old Latin version of the Psalter, undertaken in Rome *c.* 384. His authorship is disputed, however; some maintain that the Roman Psalter is simply one of several Old Latin versions: see, for example, Donatien De Bruyne, 'Le problème du psautier romain', *Révue bénédictine* 42 (1930), 101–26.

19 Both mean 'wings', but they were still being differentiated etymologically as late as Isidore ('pinnas murorum, pennas avium dicimus') although the two are used interchangeably in manuscripts: C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), 1330.

20 In *Gal1* and *Lan*, the ablative 'longitudine' is used with no contraction, and the partial erasure of the 'm' in both *Cha1* and *Eli* suggests that the same interpretation was chosen in those places some time after each manuscript was initially copied. With 'longitudine', the sentence translates literally as 'I will satisfy him within the length of his days' rather than 'I will satisfy him throughout the length of his days'.

TABLE 3. Second-mode tract text variants and Psalter alignments

| TRACT VERSE | TRACT AND ROMAN PSALTER | GALLICAN PSALTER[a] | GAULOIS (LYONNAIS: γ AND δ)[b] | GAULOIS (NARBONNAIS: ε)[c] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Deus deus meus* | | | | |
| 1 | respice in me | respice me | respice me | |
| 3 | nec exaudies | et non exaudies | | nec exaudias |
| 8 | Omnes qui uidebant me aspernabantur me | Omnes uidentes me deriserunt me | | |
| 8 | locuti sunt labiis | | et locuti sunt labiis | et locuti sunt labiis |
| 10 | conspexerunt | inspexerunt | | inspexerunt |
| 10 | uestem meam | | uestimentum meum | ueste mea |
| 11 | Libera me | Salva me | | |
| 13 | et annunciabunt celi | et annunciabunt | | |
| 13 | quem fecit dominus | quem fecit | | |
| *Domine exaudi* | | | | |
| 2 | inclina ad me aurem tuam | | inclina aurem tuam ad me | |
| 4 | sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt | sicut gremium aruerunt | sicut [in][d] frictorium confricta sunt | |
| 5 | Percussus sum | Percussus sum/ percussum est | Percussum est | |
| 5 | sicut fenum | ut fenum | | |
| 5 | manducare | comedere | | |
| 6 | Tu exurgens Domine | Tu exurgens | | |
| 6 | qui uenit tempus miserendi eius | quia tempus miserendi eius quia uenit tempus | quoniam uenit tempus miserendi eius | |
| *Qui habitat* | | | | |
| 2 | susceptor meus es (some RP manuscripts include 'tu') | susceptor meus es tu | susceptor meus es tu | |
| 4 | Scapulis suis | In scapulis suis | Inter scapulis suis | |
| 6 | a ruina | ab incurso | | |
| 7 | tibi autem | ad te autem | | |
| 9 | ne umquam | ne forte | ne quando | |
| 9 | liberabo | et liberabo | et liberabo | |
| 12 | Inuocavit/ Inuocabit | Clamabit/ Clamauit | Inuocauit | |
| 12 | et ego | et | | |
| 13 | adimplebo | replebo | inplebo | |
| 13 | salutare meum | | salutarem meum | |

[a] Represented by the Stuttgart Bible critical apparatus: *Biblia sacra vulgata* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). This version of the Bible is used to provide texts and variants for the Gallican Psalter and other Vulgate texts throughout this chapter.

[b] Variants are only noted here when both are unified against the tract text; the full picture is given in Appendix 5.

[c] Only *Deus deus meus* appears in this source.

[d] In δ but not γ.

The Roman Psalter origin of the three psalmic second-mode tracts, the chants' presence in the earliest Frankish sources as well as in the Old Roman tradition, and the close melodic relationship between the two (on which see Chapter 3) confirms the Roman origin of the chants. However, the Roman Psalter texts are not perfectly reflected in the tract sources, since some manuscripts have isolated moments of assimilation to the Gallican Psalter.[21] More widespread variants are found in *Domine exaudi*, where in three places the Old Roman version of the text is different from the Romano-Frankish version. In verse 1, the Romano-Frankish chant has 'ueniat' like the Gallican Psalter and the gaulois δ rather than the 'perueniat' found in the Roman Psalter and the Old Roman chant manuscripts. It seems likely in this case that the Gallican Psalter reading was assimilated to the chant in its northern European transmission.[22] In the third verse, the Romano-Frankish version preserves the 'exaudi me' of both the Roman and Gallican Psalters while the Old Roman version has 'exaudi me domine', found also in the gaulois δ. One possibility is that the Frankish version became assimilated to the Psalter tradition, although this would be in contrast to the many occasions, charted in Table 3, where the Frankish cantors maintained a Roman Psalter reading in these chants against the more familiar Gallican reading. It seems more likely that 'domine' was added in the Old Roman tradition after the two traditions diverged, a hypothesis supported by the melodic state of the chant, as discussed below on pp. 103–4. Similarly, in the final verse, the Roman Psalter and the Romano-Frankish tract have the text 'quia uenit tempus miserendi eius'. The Old Roman tract repeats 'quia uenit tempus' as 'quia tempus uenit', with exactly the same music as the previous phrase. For discussion of the probably purposeful and rhetorical interpolation of repetitive text and music here, see p. 107.

Some text variants do not align the manuscript in question to any particular Psalter tradition. *Qui habitat* has several points of variation which concern the exchange of the past tense ('-uit') and the future ('-bit'), as shown in Table 4.

The presence of both past and future-tense verb forms in Gallican and Roman Psalter manuscripts at each of these points, and the lack of a consistent mirroring either of the normal tract text or of its variants in the gaulois tradition, mean that one cannot use the variants to point to any particular textual

21 In *Domine exaudi*, *Coc6* and *Aki5* both begin verse 5 'Percussum', like the Gallican Psalter, rather than 'percussus sum' (tract text and Roman Psalter) or 'percussum est' (γ and δ). Neither has neumes at this point, so one cannot tell what effect it had on the melody. In *Deus deus meus* verse 11, *Lan* uses the Gallican Psalter variant 'unicornium' rather than the usual (and Roman Psalter) 'unicornuorum' (this has recently been discussed by Pfisterer, and the variant is also found in many later manuscripts in his sample: see *CR*, 204). *Leo3* and *Den7* have only the opening words of *Deus deus meus*. These appear as 'Deus deus meus respice me', as in the Gallican Psalter, rather than the usual 'Deus deus meus respice in me', which derives from the Roman Psalter. This might indicate that the Gallican text was occasionally used for this chant, although it would be foolhardy to theorise on the basis of one omitted two-letter word in two manuscripts, each of which transmits only five words of the tract.

22 In phrase **4e**, used here, the melodic shapes before the final accent are simply divided between the syllables available. Without a firm association of the text accents with particular melodic patterns, it was easy for 'per-' to drop out of the northern tradition. On phrase **4e**, see p. 58.

Table 4. The exchange between '-bit' and '-uit' in *Qui habitat*

| TRACT VERSE | USUAL TRACT TEXT | VARIANT AND MANUSCRIPT(S) | GAULOIS (LYONNAIS: γ AND δ) | ROMAN PSALTER | GALLICAN PSALTER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Qui habitat* | | | | | |
| 3 | liberauit | liberabit (*Den5*) | liberauit | either | either |
| 4 | obumbrabit | obumbrauit (*Coc6*, *Fle1*, *Mon6*, *Orc*, *Orj*, *Orp*) | obumbrauit | either | either |
| 7 | appropinquabit | approprinquauit (*Coc6*, *Cor3*,[a] *Fle1*, *Mon6*, *Orj*, *Orp*) | adpropriauit (δ); adpropiabit (γ) | either (but both rare) | either |
| 11 | sperauit | sperabit (*Cha1*, *Den5*, *Orj*) | sperabit (δ); sperauit (γ) | sperabit (rare) or sperauit | sperabit (rare) or sperauit |
| 12 | Inuocauit | Inuocabis (*Den5*, *Orj*); Inuocabit (*Gal1*) | Inuocauit | either | (Clamabit/ Clamauit) |

[a] Lacunary until this point in the chant.

tradition. Instead, such interchange between 'b' and 'u' seems to be a casual variant and, indeed, it is one of the common types of error cited by Cassiodorus.[23]

Two further text variants do not align the manuscripts in question to any particular Psalter tradition. In *Deus deus meus* verse 9, *Lan*, *Cha1* and *Fle1* all use 'faciet' rather than 'faciat', the former being a variant found in both the Gallican and Roman Psalter traditions (but not the gaulois). In *Domine exaudi* verse 2, almost all of the early Frankish manuscripts have 'Non auertas' rather than the Roman Psalter 'Ne auertas'.[24] 'Non' is found (albeit rarely) in Roman Psalter manuscripts, is the standard Gallican wording and is found also in the gaulois δ. It could therefore derive from any of the Psalter traditions.

Some isolated variants in individual chant manuscripts appear to be localised copying or spelling errors, or lexical variants, and I have not encountered them in any of the Psalter traditions (see Table 5).

While individual discussion of each of these is unnecessary, the omission in *Coc6* of the following bracketed section of *Domine exaudi* merits closer consideration: 'Non auertas faciem tuam a me in quacumque die tribulor (inclina ad me aurem tuam. V.II In quacumque die inuocauero te) uelociter exaudi me'. At first glance, the scribe seems to have copied accurately the first occurrence of 'in quacumque die', with its accompanying 'tribulor', but then leapt, mentally or visually, to the second 'in quacumque die', continuing from the following piece of text, 'uelociter'. However, the subsequent verses are numbered II, III and IIII instead of the III, IIII and V which would have been expected if this had simply been a scribal elision. The psalm verse beginning 'Non/Ne auertas' consists of three parallel sentences, although two

23 Dyer, 'Latin Psalters', 18. The levelling of intervocalic b and v was typical of the Romance languages and is reflected in manuscripts from the medieval period onwards.

24 Only *Leo3* and *Gal1* have the more usual Roman reading of 'Ne', perhaps retaining the original reading, which is also preserved in all three Old Roman Graduals.

TABLE 5. Non-Psalter text variants in isolated manuscripts of the psalmic second-mode tracts

| TRACT VERSE | NORMAL TEXT | VARIANT | MANUSCRIPT |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Deus deus meus* | | | |
| 1 | 'dereliquisti' | 'derelinquisti' | *Fle1* |
| 3 | 'et nocte et non' | 'in nocte et non' | *Orp*[a] |
| 6 | 'clamauerunt' | 'clameuerunt' | *Coc6* |
| 6 | 'in te sperauerunt' | 'sperauerunt' | *Coc6*[b] |
| 9 | 'eripiat eum' | 'eripiam eum' | *Fle1*[c] |
| *Domine exaudi* | | | |
| 1 | 'orationem meam' | 'oratio meam' | *Rei5* |
| 2–3 | 'inclina ad me aurem tuam. In quacumque die inuocauero te' | (omitted) | *Coc6* |
| 4 | 'frixorio confrixa sunt' | 'fixorio confixa sunt' | *Cha1*, *Fle1*, *Lan* |
| 6 | 'oblitus' | 'oblatus' corrected to 'oblitus' | *Aki5* |
| *Qui habitat* | | | |
| 2 | 'meum' | 'meam' | *Den5* |
| 4 | 'Scapulis' | 'Sapulis' | *Cha1* |
| 6 | 'uolante' | 'uolantem' | *Aki5* |
| 6 | 'a negotio perambulate in tenebris' | 'an nogotio perambulatem In tenebris' | *Aki5* |
| 6 | 'perambulante' | 'perambulantem' | *Mon6*, *Coc6* and *Fle1* |
| 7 | 'milia a dextris' | 'milia dextris' | *Lan* |
| 8 | 'custodiant' | 'custodiam' | *Mon6*, *Coc6*, *Fle1*, *Cha1*, *Aki5* |
| 9 | 'portabunt te' | 'portabunte' | *Fle1*, *Cor3* |
| 11 | 'cognouit' | 'cognoui' | *Lan* |
| 13 | 'et ostendam illi' | 'et ostendam' | *Cor3* |

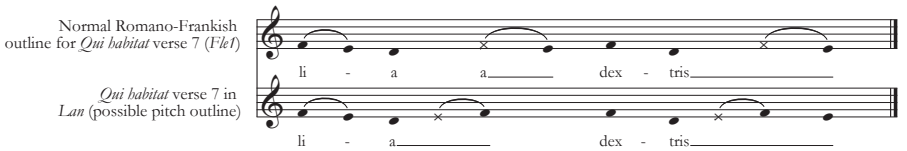
[a] Rather than being a lexical error, 'in nocte et non' is a rare Roman Psalter variant, with the conjunction rather than the preposition implied.

[b] This clearly shows scribal inattention; the omission of 'in te' provides a mistaken parallel of 'sperauerunt et non sunt confusi' to the second half of verse 5 which has the text 'sperauerunt et liberasti eos'. Since *Coc6* has no musical notation, the melodic impact of this omission is unrecoverable.

[c] The use of 'eripiam eum' rather than 'eripiat eum' may reflect the textual parallel of 'eripiam eum' in *Qui habitat* verse 13.

sentences are adequate to fill the usual four-fold form of a second-mode tract verse. While in most manuscripts, the first two sentences form the second verse of the tract and the third sentence forms the third verse, the tradition represented by *Coc6* has instead abbreviated the psalm verse to fit the expected melodic form (on the structure of this psalm verse, see also p. 24).

On only one occasion does such a lexical error have a recoverable musical impact. In *Lan*, 'dextris' is used rather than 'a dextris' in *Qui habitat* verse 7. As Example 1 shows, rather than retaining the usual cadential point at the end of 'milia', *Lan* elides the two phrases. Textual variants in early unneumed manuscripts may similarly have involved variant cadence placement, or different phrases to reflect the new accentual context, but this is of course impossible to confirm.




EXAMPLE 1

As we have seen, the Frankish cantors of the early Middle Ages largely maintained the Roman Psalter-based tract texts as separate entities to the Gallican psalms they sang in the daily office, with little seepage of the Gallican Psalter into the tracts' textual transmission. This is not surprising since the Roman Psalter texts were familiar to those who had studied Latin grammar, a fundamental component of Carolingian monastic education: secondary grammar started with psalm commentaries and exegesis, and much patristic exegesis was based on, and directly quoted, the Roman Psalter.[25] Further, the written transmission of the Mass Proper texts in unneumed Graduals and Cantatoria will have helped to maintain the Roman texts at least from the late-eighth century.[26] As described above, while there are occasional correlations in individual manuscripts with either the Gallican or the gaulois Psalter, these are isolated, and do not represent a rival textual tradition for the tracts. The textual variants which exist in the early neumed manuscripts very rarely affect the number of syllables and hence rarely affect the melody.

## The textual tradition of *Domine audiui*

*Domine audiui* is taken from the canticle in Habakkuk 3. There are isolated variants in the chant manuscripts, all of which appear to be lexical variants or errors rather than representing an alternative textual tradition (see Table 6).

25 On the importance of grammar to Charlemagne, see Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins', 211–12; see also Charles Atkinson, '*De accentibus toni oritur nota quae dicitur neuma*: Prosodic Accents, the Accent Theory, and the Paleofrankish Script', in Graeme Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes: Isham Library Papers* 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 17–42: 20; William Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, Maryland and London, 1998), 9; Leo Treitler, 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing', *Early Music History* 4 (Cambridge, 1984), 135–208: 136–7.

26 For the earliest surviving sources, see Peter Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*: A Preliminary Checklist of MSS Copied before about 900 AD', *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 316–21; see also the list of sources in Appendix 2.

TABLE 6. Text variants in isolated manuscripts of *Domine audiui*

| TRACT VERSE | USUAL TRACT TEXT | VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | consideraui | 'consederaui' in *Cor2*, 'et consideraui' in *Aki5* |
| 2 | innotesceris | 'innodisceris' in *Rei5*, 'innotisceris' in *Leo3* |
| 2 | dum appropinquauerint | 'dum appropinquauerunt' in *Cha1* |
| 3 | In eo dum | 'In eo dun' in *Fle1* |
| 3 | fuerit anima mea | 'fuerint anima mea' in *Leo3*, 'fuerit animam meam' in *Aki5* |
| 3 | in ira misericordie | 'misericordie' in *Aki5* |
| 3 | memor eris | 'memor ero' in *Mon6*, *Aki5*; 'memor eoro' in *Leo3* |
| 5 | et laudis eius | 'et laudes eius' in *Coc6*, *Aki5*, *Fle1*, *Cha1*; 'laudes' corrected to 'laudis' in *Lan*. |

None of the variants with a different syllable count appear in a manuscript with notation at the relevant point, so it is not possible to ascertain the impact on the melodic state of the chant. In its five verses, *Domine audiui* has as many lexical variants in early manuscripts (counting parallel variants in different manuscripts as separate entities) as are found in all thirteen verses of *Qui habitat*. This density of lexical variation immediately suggests that the text was unfamiliar to the scribes.

Like the other second-mode tracts, *Domine audiui* is not derived from a text in common liturgical use in Francia. Instead, it is based on a Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint, which was itself a translation from the Hebrew Old Testament undertaken in the third to first centuries BC. This Latin Septuagint version of the Habakkuk canticle was used at Lauds every Friday in the Roman tradition, and was taken with the Roman Psalter to Canterbury by St Augustine of Canterbury *c.* 597, from where it spread across England. It is therefore familiar from the canticle sections of both Italian and Insular Psalters.[27] The tract text is identical to that found in the Vespasian Psalter,[28] and Bede's commentary uses almost the same text as the tract.[29] These examples illustrate the close kinship of the tract text and the Latin Septuagint canticle.[30]

27 For a list of manuscripts with this text, see James Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge, 1914), 52. The manuscripts he lists originated in England and Benevento.

28 London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A1 (a Canterbury copy dating from *c.* 700; the canticles are an eleventh-century addition).

29 Bede has 'innotesces' in verse 2 rather than 'innotesceris', 'adpropriauerint' rather than 'appropinquauerint' in verse 3, and 'laude' instead of 'laudis' in the last verse: Bede, *In canticum Habakuk*, ed. David Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983), 379–87; for an English translation, see *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, transl. Seán Connolly (Dublin, 1997). It should be noted, however, that of the manuscripts used for the CCSL edition, only two date from the ninth century (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MA 81, from Bury St Edmunds, and Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 59 (62), from Fleury). One is tenth century (Paris, BNF, lat. 12274, from Corbie), one is tenth or eleventh century (Paris, BNF, lat. 2372, from St Martial), and the rest are twelfth century or later. It would be foolhardy to claim that, in every detail of quotation from the Septuagint, this manuscript tradition faithfully represents Bede's original text. There are few variants in the quotation of the Septuagint in these early manuscripts, but 'laudis' is in fact found in the ninth-century Fleury manuscript and the tenth/eleventh-century St Martial one.

30 The only difference in the Regius Psalter (London, BL, MS Royal 2 B. v; tenth century,

The Latin Septuagint version may also be found in Jerome's commentary on the minor prophets. This commentary gives a potted history of the Habakkuk text citing both what became the Vulgate and a Latin translation of the Septuagint together with, where necessary, a Greek word to clarify a point.[31] A variation of the same translation is also used by Augustine in his commentary on Habakkuk 3 in *De civitate Dei*, Book 18, Chapter 32.[32] A full comparison of Jerome, Augustine, the Vulgate and the tract text may be found in Appendix 5.

It is important to note that the surviving manuscripts of Jerome's and Augustine's commentaries, or at least the manuscripts used in making the modern editions, are eighth century at the earliest and therefore stand at some distance from the early Roman transmission of the texts.[33] Their value as evidence for the textual minutiae of the Habakkuk canticle in early-medieval Rome is therefore limited. The patristic versions of the text are more distantly related to the tract text than are the versions of the canticle found in the Insular Roman Psalters and in Bede. For example, in some manuscripts Augustine uses 'cognosceris' and 'nosceris', which are roughly synonymous, in the opposite order to the tract; in other manuscripts, 'cognosceris' is used twice, as in Jerome. In verse 4, the Lord is described in the tract as coming from 'Libano' (Lebanon), by Augustine and Jerome as coming from 'Theman' (which is 'interpreted by some translators', according to Augustine, 'as meaning "from the south" or "from the south-east", signifying midday: that is, the fervour of charity and the splendour of truth'),[34] and in the Vulgate as coming from 'austro' (the south). The heavens are variously full of the Lord's 'majesty' (tract), 'power' (Augustine) and 'glory' (Vulgate and Jerome).

The Vulgate text is very different (see the analytical table in Appendix 5).[35] The Hebrew texts used in compiling the Vulgate must have varied significantly from the Hebrew texts on which the Septuagint was based. Written Hebrew in the centuries before Christ did not indicate the vowels, only the consonants, and the two traditions sometimes seem to represent different vocalisations, with the same

Winchester) is that verse 5 has 'laude eius' rather than 'laudis eius'. The Bosworth Psalter (London, BL, Additional MS 37517; tenth century, Christ Church, Canterbury) has 'a libano' twice, and 'de laude eius' rather than 'laudis eius'.

31 Jerome [S. Hieronymus presbyterus], *Commentarium in Abacuc prophetam ad Chromatium*, in *Opera pars I, opera exegetica 6*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 76A (Turnhout, 1969–70), 619–23. Manuscripts used in making this edition include the late-eighth/early-ninth century Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 54 (Darmst. 2049), from St Peter's, and the eighth-century Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. Fol. 22, from Fulda.

32 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, CCSL 47–8 (Turnhout, 1955), 623–6; for a translation, see Saint Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and transl. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), 863–7.

33 For Book 18 of *De civitate Dei*, the earliest manuscript is ninth century, from Saint Gall; the others date from the tenth century or later.

34 Augustine, *City of God*, 864.

35 McKinnon, who was clearly not aware of the Latin Septuagint translation of this text, wrote of *Domine audiui*: 'Its first two verses begin by adhering rather closely to the Habakkuk text, but its latter three verses lack even a remote relationship to it. Is the text, then, a product of the textual adjustment of the Advent Project or is it an ancient composition of unknown origin?': *The Advent Project*, 288.

consonants standing for quite different words.[36] There is an example of this at the beginning of verse 2: *šnym/šanim hyym/hywt* means 'two living creatures' (as in the Septuagint and the tract), but *šnym hiyyîtâ* means 'the years, you sustained life' (as in the Vulgate).[37] Further, at some point either the Septuagint translators added clauses or (more likely) the Hebrew tradition known to Jerome lost them.

There is one point at which the tract text and the equivalent Roman canticle are tautologous: in verse 3, 'dum' repeats the sense of 'in eo'. According to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'the Greek for "when my soul is troubled" is literally "in the to-be-troubled the soul of-me", a perfectly normal construction especially common in post-classical Greek; "in eo dum conturbata fuerit anima mea" is the kind of awkwardness one expects when people think they need to be literal'.[38] Jerome's version, 'cum turbata fuerit anima mea' makes better sense.

The Habakkuk canticle was a regular part of the Benedictine liturgy. Sung at Lauds each week on Friday, it was completely familiar to any monastic or cleric who regularly participated in the Divine Office.[39] But while Roman monastics and clerics used the Septuagint translation – the same as the tract – the Franks used the Vulgate text when they sang the canticle each week.[40] While Frankish monastics knew the Latin Septuagint version through patristic commentaries as well as the double and triple Psalters with canticles which have both versions in columns,[41] this version of the text was rarely encountered in Francia for practical purposes.

The Romano-Frankish version of the tract *Domine audiui* organises the phrases according to larger sense units than the Old Roman tradition in verses 2 and 3, which makes the semantic content very clear. Such avoidance of cadences within sentences and clauses differentiates *Domine audiui* from the other second-mode tracts (for a parsing of each text, see Appendix 1). The Romano-Frankish *Domine*

36 Robert D. Haak, *Habakkuk* (Brill, 1992), 8. Haak considers that the Greek versions were based on an unvocalised Hebrew text.

37 See Francis I. Anderson, 'Habakkuk: A New Translation', *The Anchor Bible* 25 (New York, 2001), 268–82.

38 Personal communication, 22 January 2004.

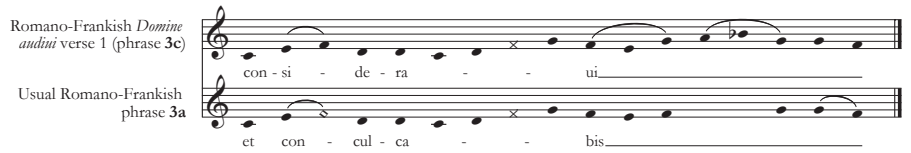
39 The Benedictine order adopted the Roman selection of canticles from its inception, as the Rule of Benedict makes clear: see *The Rule of St Benedict*, transl. Boniface Verheyen OSB (Atchison, Kansas, 1949), ch. 13. The section entitled 'How Lauds are to be said on week days' includes the text: 'Nam ceteris diebus canticum unumquemque die suo ex prophetis, sicut psallit ecclesia Romana, dicantur'. This translates as 'On the other days, however [i.e. all but Saturday], let the canticle from the prophets, each for its proper day, be said as the Roman church singeth it'.

40 Psalters containing the Vulgate Habakkuk text include the St Alban's Psalter (which may be viewed online at <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lib399>), London, BL, MS Arundel 60 (*c.* 1060, from Winchester), and London, BL, MS Arundel 155 (*c.* 1020, from Canterbury). For a list of manuscripts with the Vulgate text, see Mearns, *The Canticles*, 63–4. These manuscripts are from England, France, Germany and northern Italy. The liturgical use of this text in Francia is confirmed by the Breviaries: for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. lit. 297 (twelfth century, from Würzburg diocese) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 45 (eleventh century, from St Peter's, Moissac) both have the Vulgate text. Eamonn Ó Carragáin claims that the Septuagint version was widely used, sung every Friday at Lauds, but without corroborating evidence: see 'Christ over the Beasts and the Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses', in Paul Szarmach, ed., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, Studies in Medieval Culture*, 20 (Kalamazoo, 1986), 377–403: 383.

41 Some examples are given in Mearns, *The Canticles*, 65 and 76.

*audiui* also seems to use unexpected formulaic phrases or non-formulaic phrases to act as a reminder of the different text, as the following examples show. On each of these occasions, the Old Roman tradition has the expected formulaic phrases.

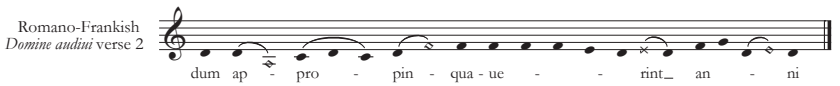
The second half of the first verse ('consideraui opera tua et expaui') has a very different text from the Vulgate, and the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **3c** on 'consideraui' (see Example 2).




EXAMPLE 2

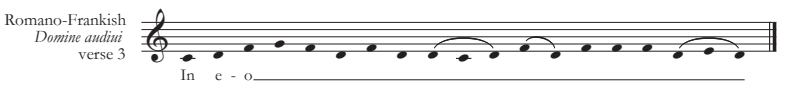
This phrase is usually reserved for the last verse or for emphatic use and its use here may signal the departure from the Vulgate text.[42] Phrase **3c** is similarly used in the following verse on 'dum aduenerit tempus', for which the Vulgate has no equivalent. Alternatively, use of phrase **3c** may be a cue relating to the responsorial performance of the chant, and I will argue in Chapter 5 that this is the case on 'et sanctus de monte' in verse 4 (whose text is identical to the Vulgate).

While the motivations underlying use of phrase **3c** in the above examples remain uncertain, the unique material on 'dum appropinquauerint anni' in verse 2 may well have arisen in order to signal the departure from the Vulgate text (see Example 3).[43]




EXAMPLE 3[44]

The first half of verse 3 has no Vulgate equivalent, and the Romano-Frankish version has a unique phrase on 'In eo' (see Example 4).




EXAMPLE 4

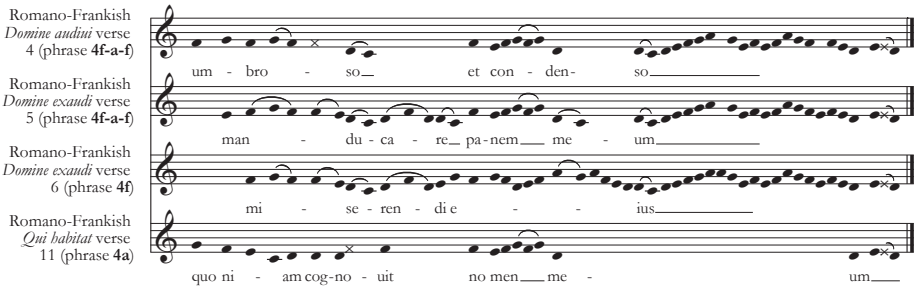
In verse 4, the unfamiliar text 'umbroso et condenso' uses a combination of two formulaic phrases, **4f–a–f**; the *EFGFG* figure on the antepenultimate (unaccented) syllable is only otherwise combined with the phrase **4f** recitation and ending in

42 Detailed information about the circumstances under which particular phrase shapes are used may be found in Chapter 3.

43 It is melodically close to 'humilitatem' in the related gradual *De necessitatibus*: see *AOFGC*, 106–7.

44 *Fle1*, whose neumes I have used to transcribe Example **3**, has a variant shape on 'anni', which more usually has the pitches *FFE D*.

*Domine exaudi* verse 5, where it may be the remnant of a unique phrase (see Example 5); this is discussed further in Chapter 4 (see p. 105, n. 105).




EXAMPLE 5

## Summary

The early transmission of the second-mode tract texts confirms that all are derived from the Roman Psalter or, in the case of *Domine audiui*, from the Septuagint. On textual evidence alone, all of the chants appear to be Roman in origin and all may have originated at any time from the late-fourth century onwards (although they are almost certainly considerably more recent in their current musical state). Almost all variants in the tract texts are isolated lexical variants or scribal errors; the rarity of assimilation to the Gallican Psalter readings confirms the successful transmission and, presumably, comprehension, of these Roman chant texts in the Frankish Empire. The Septuagint *Domine audiui* text is considerably more different from the Vulgate than the Psalter versions are from each other. In this chant, the Frankish manuscripts have more lexical variants, and the melodic profile also appears designed to draw the attention of the singer to the non-Vulgate portions of text through use of unique and unexpected formulaic phrases.

# 2

# PSALTER DIVISIONS *PER COLA ET COMMATA* AND TEXTUAL GRAMMAR IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS

A Western liturgical chant is a musically heightened delivery of a religious, often psalmic, text. Communicating the sense of this text correctly in order that the singers and listeners could meditate on it was one of the central roles of medieval Western chant. Medieval theorists make it clear that cadences on modally significant notes, usually coinciding with syntactical breaks in the text, were a major factor in this communication.[1]

Having established what the verbal text is, the first step in the analysis of any chant must therefore be to identify the text's syntactical divisions. In syllabic chants, this may be a necessary preliminary to identifying the cadential notes and their hierarchy.[2] By contrast, since the second-mode tract phrases are generally formulaic with clearly defined cadences,[3] identification of the phrase boundaries is rarely contentious. This chapter outlines the broadest level of structural organisation within the second-mode tracts – the division of the biblical text into tract verses and half verses – before turning to the way in which musical phrase divisions within the tract verses articulate and reinforce the textual grammar.[4] There is generally little or no choice about how the words might be divided into musical

1 See Helmut Hucke, 'Towards a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), 437–67: 452; Calvin Bower, 'The Grammatical Model of Musical Understanding in the Middle Ages', in Patrick Gallacher and Helen Damico (eds.), *Hermeneutics and Medieval Cultures* (Albany, 1989), 133–45; Karen Desmond, '*Sicut in Grammatica*: Analogical Discourse in Chapter 15 of Guido's *Micrologus*', *Journal of Musicology* 16 (1998), 467–93; Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 267–75; Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, 'Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship', in Ellen Beebe (ed.), *Music and Language: Studies in the History of Music* 1 (New York, 1983), 1–23; Don Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Rome, 1986), 59–60 and 388 ff. More than one analysis has been undertaken in this vein: see, for example, Edward Nowacki, 'Text Declamation as a Determinant of Musical Form', *Early Music History* 6 (1986), 193–226.

2 Bower, 'The Grammatical Model', 143; see also Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in Rosamund McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 274–316.

3 The melodic shapes of the second-mode tracts are described and illustrated in Chapter 3.

4 Assertions that the phrase divisions play this role may be found in: Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens', 38; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 105 and 108; and Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 3.

phrases without compromising clarity of syntax and, because of the formularity of the genre, phrase divisions which contradict the textual syntax are easily identified and demand to be accounted for.

## Verse divisions in the Bible and in the second-mode tracts

While the verses of psalms and canticles were not numbered in early-medieval Psalters, the texts were copied *per cola et commata*, 'laying out each of the constituent parts of the periodus on a new line'.[5] This makes the medieval understanding of their verse structure readily recoverable.[6] In what follows, I have drawn primarily on the early Insular Roman Psalter tradition.[7] The earliest Roman Psalter manuscript is the early-eighth-century Vespasian Psalter from Canterbury; the first Italian manuscripts of the Roman Psalter date only from the eleventh century, and the Insular manuscripts are thus the closest one can get chronologically to the early-medieval Roman tradition.[8]

In *Domine audiui*, the canticle tradition of the Insular Roman Psalter manuscripts has many more verse divisions than the tract; the extras coincide with new half-verses in the tract (for transcriptions of all texts and verse divisions, see Appendix 1).[9] In *Domine exaudi*, the tract follows the psalm verse divisions but incorporates an extra division at 'in quacumque die'. As described above (pp. 15–16), the psalm verse beginning at 'Non/Ne auertas' is extremely long, consisting of three parallel sentences rather than the two characteristic of many psalm verses. Although, as will be seen below, some tract verses use extra musical phrases to accommodate a long text, in *Domine exaudi* the first two sentences of the psalm verse form the second tract verse and the third sentence forms the third tract verse.[10] The end of the first sentence (ending 'faciem tuam a me') was treated as a half-verse caesura in the Insular Roman Psalters as well as in the tract. The Bosworth Psalter also has a raised dot after 'tuum', the place where the tract has the extra verse division. The tract verse division is different from that of the Psalter, but does reflect the textual structure as represented by this punctuation.

5 Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), 15.

6 Carruthers writes that 'the verse divisions of each psalm were numerically designated as early as the time of Augustine, and certainly from the time of Alcuin (eighth century) . . . These divisions were imposed on the text only in memory': see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 98.

7 The Vespasian Psalter is London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A i, a Psalter from Canterbury from *c.* 700, with canticles added in the eleventh century. The Bosworth Psalter is London, BL, Additional MS 37517, a tenth-century Psalter from Christ Church, Canterbury. The Regius Psalter is London, BL, MS Royal 2 B V, from tenth-century Winchester.

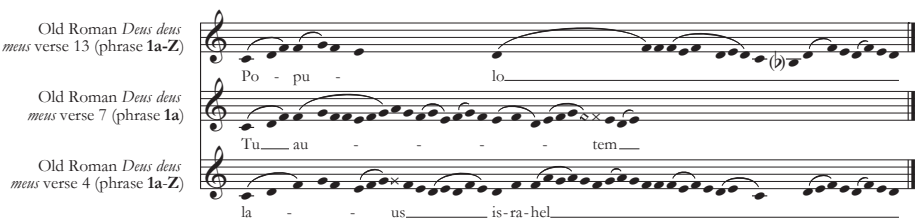
8 Weber, *Le psautier romain*, ix.

9 The Psalters have verses beginning at 'Considerauí', 'Dum adpropinquauerint' and 'Dum aduenerit' as well as 'Domine' and 'In medio'.

10 Treating the first two sentences as separate entities is not unique to this chant, being found, for example, in the introit 'Domine exaudi' in *Ben5* (f. 104v). The introit verse is textually identical to the second tract verse, with the half-verse division after 'me', also as in the tract verse. In *Domine exaudi*, *Coc6* is an exception, abbreviating the text (see p. 15–16).

In *Qui habitat*, the Insular Roman Psalters have exactly the same verse divisions as the tract, including a verse division at 'Eripiam eum' but not at 'longitudinem'.[11] *Ext2* has short text and music incipits for each verse, each on a new line with a red v and a capital letter. In this manuscript, 'Eripiam' receives no v and is not copied on a new line, unlike all the other verses, but the word *is* present, with neumes, suggesting that it was included as an afterthought, after the offertory rubric had been copied on to the following line. The largely unnotated *Aki5* has an additional verse division at 'in tenebris' in verse 6, and no verse division at 'In manibus', although this is given a capital or 'v' in all other manuscripts as the beginning of verse 9, uses verse-opening material and is also a new psalm verse. This may indicate a different textual and melodic organisation from usual, but it is perhaps more likely that the verse division was simply transposed in copying from 'in manibus' to 'in tenebris', and the isolated variant need not concern us further here.

In *Deus deus meus*, the Insular Roman Psalter manuscripts divide only at 'Verba' before dividing at 'Tu autem'. Rather than dividing at 'uerba', the third sentence of the first psalm verse (which begins 'Longe'), is treated musically and scribally as a separate verse in all the tract manuscripts in my sample except for *Mon6*, and 'Deus meus' is treated as a new verse in all the tract manuscripts. The length of these opening verses, combined with the necessity of treating the opening words emphatically (see p. 97) may have contributed to this departure from the Psalter tradition. Similarly, while the Psalters, *Mon6* and *Gal1* do not mark a verse beginning at 'populo' (indeed, it is syntactically dependent on the preceding verse),[12] all other manuscripts in my sample do. The scribes may have been prompted by the preceding phrase 4 to treat 'Populo' as a verse opening, although the melodic material on 'Populo' is formally ambiguous: the Romano-Frankish tradition uses *comma* **Y**, which serves to tie together the text with the previous verse, on which it is dependent syntactically;[13] and the Old Roman tradition begins 'Populo', like 'laus




EXAMPLE 6

11 *Coc6*, *Den5* and *Eli* do treat 'Longitudinem' as a new verse. *Gal1* also has a capital here, but 'longitudinem' continues on the same line as the previous text and, in *Gal1*, every new tract verse coincides with a new line and has the capital letter set slightly into the margin. I therefore conclude that this capital does not indicate a new tract verse. *Cor3* has a *periodus* before each new verse begins, and also has one before 'longitudinem'. However, since it also has a *periodus* before each of 'ut custodiant', 'et conculcabis' and 'cum ipso sum', the *periodus* is not used consistently in this manuscript to indicate new verses. Maximus Victorinus's identification of a low point as marking a hiatus in the reading may be pertinent here (see Desmond, '*Sicut in Grammatica*', 482–3).

12 As on 'longitudinem' in *Qui habitat*, *Gal1* has a capital letter on the same line of text, rather than having the capital set into the margin.

13 On the function of *comma* **Y**, see pp. 71–2.

israhel' at the end of verse 4, with the opening pitches of phrase **1a**, and concludes with the end of phrase **Z** (see Example 6). While the phrase **1a** material has verse-opening connotations, the phrase **Z** material is formally ambiguous.

Despite a verse division at 'Populo' making no grammatical sense and not being conclusively indicated by the musical state, in my analysis I have reflected the majority reading of the chant manuscripts, here as in verse 2.

'In te sperauerunt' is a new verse in *Deus deus meus* in most tract manuscripts, and therefore in my analysis. However, it is not signalled as a new verse in the Insular Roman Psalters, nor in *Cha1*, *Coc6*, *Den5*, *Ext2*, *Fle1*, *Lan*, *Laon266* or *Orj*.[14] While the Old Roman tradition has phrase **1d** here, cued by the text (see pp. 48–9), the Romano-Frankish tradition instead starts the verse with *syllaba* **W** for emphatic reasons (on which, see pp. 44–5). Neither tradition clearly cues this melodically as a new verse, therefore, and either some institutions, particularly in northern Francia and Brittany, have lost the verse division, or others have interpolated it.

As the above discussion illustrates, the second-mode tract verses are generally compatible with the Psalter verse divisions. Long psalm verses are occasionally divided into two tract verses (*Domine exaudi* verses 2–3, and *Deus deus meus* verses 1–3 and 13–14). The extra tract division at 'In te sperauerunt' in *Deus deus meus* may follow a text cue. The very short segments of the opening of the canticle *Domine audiui* are unsuitable for articulation as a second-mode tract, and longer units have instead been followed.

## Textual divisions

Isidore of Seville wrote that the *distinctiones* (parts of speech) are 'necessary for all forms of reading and must be studied by lectors and cantors of psalms'.[15] Having remembered where the biblical verses divided, or where the tract verses divided if this was not consistent with the biblical original (the preceding discussion makes it clear that this was usually achieved), the vital thing for a cantor was to remember the places at which each biblical verse should be divided into the musical phrases of a second-mode tract verse. If successful, not only would the basic cadences fall into place, but also the particular phrase shapes appropriate for the accent pattern and formal context of each phrase. Dividing the psalm verse correctly was the key to recollecting the melody.

The verses of psalms and canticles are frequently bipartite,[16] although structures

14 Later Mass Proper sources without a new verse here include Beneventan manuscripts such as *Ben5* and *Rag*, and Norman-influenced manuscripts (*Iri*, *Sab*, *Cant2*, *Dij1* and *Rog1*, although *Crow* does have a verse here).

15 Quoted in Desmond, '*Sicut in Grammatica*', 487; see also Isidore's summary of the qualifications of a lector, translated in M. B. Parkes, 'Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Cambridge, 1999), 90–102: 92.

16 On the parallelism of the psalm verses, see Susan E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the*

with three similar phrases in a row are also common.[17] The second verse half often mirrors the first verse half in syntactical structure, vocabulary and meaning, or the second verse half may be a varied repetition of the first. For example, in *Domine audiui* verse 4, 'the Lord comes from Lebanon' in the first verse half, and 'the holy one comes from the mountain' in the second. Otherwise, the second verse half might qualify, complete or oppose the first.[18] Word pairs, such as hands/feet (*Qui habitat* verse 9), are a common tool for connecting together two verse halves.[19] Chiasmus is also common, with the climax at the centre of the verse or longer segment.[20] This is seen, for example, in *Domine audiui* verse 5 ('Operuit caelos maiestas eius: laudis eius plena est terra'), where 'maiestas eius' is answered by 'laudis eius', and 'plena est terra' completes the landscape introduced by the opening 'Operuit caelos'. Such textual organisation helps to make the sentence structure, clausal structure and musical phrase divisions more memorable, contributing to the stability of the psalm texts themselves and to the psalm text divisions in the context of the second-mode tracts.

The internal structure of the psalm verses was reflected in medieval psalters in various ways, with line divisions *per cola et commata* (as in the Vespasian Psalter), or with various punctuation marks.[21] The tract half-verse point usually coincides with mid-verse punctuation in the Insular Roman Psalters.[22] After correctly remembering the verse divisions, placing half-verse divisions in the same place as other cantors was the next step in keeping the musical content of the verses stable. Since the psalms and canticles were regularly recited in half verses within the monastic office, the stable understanding of these divisions is hardly surprising.

*Hebrew Bible* (Oxford, 1994); examples are given in Christoph Tietze, *Hymn Introits for the Liturgical Year: The Origin and Early Development of the Latin Texts* (Chicago, 2005), 102–3.

17 Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms*, 27.

18 Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms*, 69–88.

19 Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms*, 24–5.

20 Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms*, 27.

21 The Anglo-Saxon punctuation marks used in the Insular Roman Psalters are described in Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 26–9.

22 Exceptions are as follows: in the first verses of *Deus deus meus*, the tract verse divisions are different from those of the (longer) psalm verses. While there is punctuation before 'quare' and 'et nocte' in both the tract and the psalters, and 'Verba' is the beginning of a verse in the psalters, there is no punctuation before 'longe' or 'deus meus clamabo' in the psalters, although these mark the beginning of new tract verses. In the tract verse 4, 'laus' begins the second half verse but is preceded by punctuation only in the Vespasian Psalter. There is no punctuation before 'sperauerunt' (tract verse 5) or 'populo' (tract verse 14) in the Regius Psalter (although both begin new lines and this may constitute the division). In *Domine exaudi*, there is no punctuation before 'et clamor' (tract verse 1), 'in quacumque' (tract verse 3), 'uelociter' (tract verse 3) or 'quia oblitus' (tract verse 5) in the Regius Psalter, or before 'uelociter' (tract verse 3) in the Bosworth Psalter. In *Domine audiui* there is no punctuation before 'et sanctus' (tract verse 4) in the Regius Psalter (which treats 'de monte' as the beginning of the second half verse) or the Vespasian Psalter (which treats 'umbroso et condenso' as the beginning of the second half verse). In *Qui habitat*, the Regius Psalter has no punctuation mid-way through verses 1, 2 or 12. The tripartite verses 6 and 7 have inconsistent punctuation. The Vespasian Psalter has no punctuation before 'a ruina', and the Bosworth Psalter has no punctuation before 'tibi autem'. All the Psalters have punctuation before 'ne umquam' (verse 9) rather than 'ad lapidem'.

### *Quadripartite tract verses with phrase divisions in accordance with the syntax*

Psalm verses often consist of two simple sentences, each of which has a main clause and either a relative clause or a prepositional phrase, or of two compound sentences. These patterns divide easily into four phrases, with one clause or phrase per musical phrase. A simple sentence consisting of just one main clause often divides between subject and predicate, or after the subject and verb, with the object articulated separately.[23] On several occasions, the text is not divided in one or both traditions, and instead there is only one phrase in a verse half, or the division falls in an unexpected place. These serve to emphasise the text, are signalled here in footnotes, and are discussed in Chapter 4.[24]

Quadripartite verses consisting of two compound sentences, with a division between each clause, are found in *Qui habitat* verse 11 and *Deus deus meus* verse 6 (for all analytical tables and translations, see Appendix 1). *Deus deus meus* verse 9 consists of two sentences. Both traditions divide between the main clause and the subordinate clause in the second verse half. The Old Roman tradition divides between the main clause and the jussive subjunctive in the first verse half.[25] The second half of *Deus deus meus* verse 10 is also a compound sentence, which is divided between clauses in the Old Roman tradition.[26] *Deus deus meus* verse 12 is a quadripartite verse consisting of two sentences. There is a division between the relative clause and main clause of the first sentence and between the subject and predicate of the second. This represents a balanced division of the sentence: division after the verb would be impossibly unbalanced ('uniuersum semen iacob magnificate/ eum'). *Qui habitat* verse 12 consists of one compound sentence and one simple one, with divisions between the two clauses and between the main clause and the prepositional phrase, respectively. In the first half of *Domine exaudi* verse 2, the simple sentence divides after the verb (to divide after the object would leave only the tiny prepositional phrase 'a me' to carry a whole musical phrase). In the second verse half, the simple sentence divides between the prepositional phrase and the rest of the sentence. *Deus deus meus* verse 5 consists of a simple sentence followed by a compound one. The Old Roman tradition divides the simple sentence between the verb ('sperauerunt') and the subject,[27] and both traditions divide the compound sentence between the clauses.

Some verses consist of a single compound sentence with two clauses, and the half-verse cadence coincides with the division between the clauses.[28] In each half of *Deus deus meus* verse 11, the prepositional phrase is divided from the remainder of

23 'Slight pauses after the verb seem to be a typical feature of chant style (this feature is particularly useful for a listener trying to understand the text)': see Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 77.

24 The verses in question are: *Deus deus meus* verses 1, 5, 9 and 10, *Domine audiui* verse 4, *Domine exaudi* verses 1, 3 and 6, and *Qui habitat* verses 1, 8 and 10.

25 The Romano-Frankish tradition joins the first sentence into a single phrase: see p. 98.

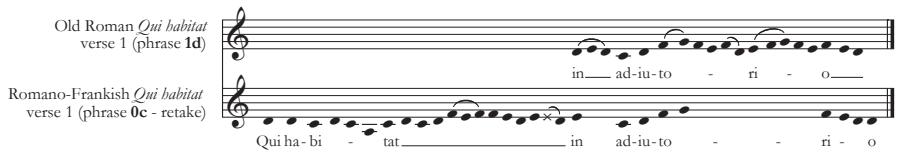
26 On the Romano-Frankish division of this verse half, and of the division of the first verse half in both traditions, see p. 98.

27 On the Romano-Frankish verse half, see p. 100.

28 On the divisions of *Qui habitat* verse 10, a compound sentence, see pp. 91 and 93.

the clause. *Domine exaudi* verse 4 comprises two compound subordinate clauses. In the first verse-half, phrase **1g** is used as well as phrase **1a**, connecting the adverbial comparative clause ('sicut fumus') to the preceding verb rather than to the subject which follows; it does not compromise the four-fold verse structure.[29] This is mirrored in the second verse half, where the adverbial comparative clause plus verb is divided from the subject. In *Domine exaudi* verse 3, the first verse half is a relative clause, with the prepositional phrase divided from the rest of the clause in the Old Roman tradition.[30] *Domine exaudi* verse 1 consists of a compound sentence with two clauses. In the second verse half, the subject is divided from the prepositional phrase and its verb.[31]

*Domine exaudi* verse 6 is a simple sentence consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, one in each verse half. In the Old Roman first verse half, the subject is divided from the predicate.[32] In the second verse half, the gerund is divided from the main part of the subordinate clause; no other division would be consonant with the syntax. *Qui habitat* verse 8 is a long subordinate clause, completing the previous sentence. In the first verse half, to divide after the verb ('Quoniam angelis suis mandauit/ de te') would be unbalanced, and the Old Roman tradition instead divides the subordinating conjunction plus object from the verb plus prepositional phrase.[33] In the second verse half, both traditions divide the prepositional phrase from the rest of the indirect command. *Qui habitat* verse 1 consists of a relative clause and a main clause, each with a prepositional phrase.[34] In the first verse half, both traditions divide before the prepositional phrase, but the Old Roman tradition additionally divides before the superlative 'altissimi' (which ends the verse half) by having phrase **1d** on the prepositional phrase 'in adiutorio'. The close relationship between the Romano-Frankish recitation on 'in adiutorio' and the shapes encountered on '(Qui habi)tat' helps to connect together the entire verse half as a single semantic unit (see Example 7). Comparison of the Old Roman phrase **1d** with the Romano-Frankish recitation suggests that the Old Roman phrase **1d** has replaced the original recitation shape, which was reminiscent of phrase **1d**, in a process of progressive stereotyping.




EXAMPLE 7

29 On the function of phrase **1g**, see pp. 49–50.

30 On the lack of division in the Romano-Frankish tradition, see p. 103. In neither tradition is the main clause in the second half of the verse divided (see pp. 103–4).

31 On the first verse half, see p. 102.

32 On the Romano-Frankish division, see pp 107.

33 On the Romano-Frankish verse half, see p. 85.

34 On the second verse half, see pp. 88.

In *Domine audiui* verse 5, although the Romano-Frankish 'Operuit' uses phrase **1** and 'caelos' has unique material cadencing on C, inter-genre connections mean that the opening 'Operuit caelos' would have been heard as a single entity (see pp. 110–11), and the subject is therefore divided from the predicate. The Old Roman version divides after the verb 'Operuit'. In the second verse half, the object is divided from the adjective, verb and subject since the adjective 'plena' is a complement to the verb 'est'.

*Qui habitat* verse 2 has non-standard sentence construction, consisting of an introduction to indirect speech, a compound sentence of two clauses and then a simple sentence. There is a division between each of these elements, resulting in a quadripartite verse.[35]

### *Division against the syntax: textual cues*

If a verb together with a possessive pronoun appears near the beginning of a verse, it cues use of phrase **1g**. In *Deus deus meus* verse 8, the first verse half divides before the predicate of a simple sentence, using phrase **1g** on the relative clause 'qui uidebant me' because of this text cue, preceded by *syllaba* **W** (a decorated recitation) on the subject 'Omnes'. The second verse half divides between the two clauses of a compound sentence (a division paralleled by the punctuation in the Bosworth Psalter). In *Qui habitat* verse 5, the text cue to use phrase **1g** on '(Scuto) circumdabit te' means that 'Scuto' uses *syllaba* **W** and there is no cadence between the instrumental 'scuto' and the verb phrase. The subject uses phrase **2**. In the second verse half, a main clause (one phrase) is followed by the first item on a list (a second phrase).[36]

Use of phrase **1g** following this text cue sometimes overturns the conjunction of melodic structure and syntax. *Qui habitat* verse 3 consists of a subordinate clause, with subject, predicate and two prepositional phrases, completing the sentence begun at the end of the previous verse. '(Quoniam ipse) liberauit me' uses phrase **1g** because of the text cue, so that phrase **1** material is used for both subject and predicate. The first (indivisible) prepositional phrase therefore uses phrase **2** and the second prepositional phrase forms the second half of the verse. Having insufficient text to articulate two phrases, fragments of *comma* **X** (on the main part of the prepositional phrase) and phrase **4** (on the adjective) are used rather than complete phrases.

In *Qui habitat* verse 9, the whole of the main clause is attached to verse-opening material, because of the text cue of 'portabunt te'. The rest of the verse is a subordinate clause consisting of a negative, a verb, a prepositional phrase and then the object. The negative and the verb are joined in a single phrase ('ne umquam' alone has no semantic content) and the other two elements combine phrase **3** and **4** material in the Romano-Frankish tradition, 'a special form obviously motivated

35 The Bosworth and Regius Psalters have punctuation before 'deus meus', showing a different understanding of the syntax.

36 The remainder of the list forms verse 6.

by the shortness of the . . . text'.[37] The Old Roman tradition uses *comma* **Y** on the prepositional phrase and phrase **4a** on the object (on *comma* **Y**, see pp. 71–2).

This phrase **1g** text cue has the widest consequences for the division of text in tract verses, but isolated text cues also affect single verses. In *Deus deus meus* verse 7, the first clause of the first compound sentence is interrupted ('Ego autem/ sum uermis . . .'). 'Ego autem' has phrase **1a**, following the text cue of verse 4, which begins with phrase **1a** on 'Tu autem'. The rest of the clause plus the whole of the following one ('sum uermis et non homo') is attached to the second melodic phrase and the second compound sentence is divided between clauses (a division paralleled by the punctuation in the Regius Psalter).

The Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 4 divides the first clause of the compound sentence between instrumental phrase and predicate. To divide after the verb would leave only the object, 'tibi', for phrase **2**. The second clause divides between prepositional phrase and verb, the only possible place if syntax is to be taken into account. The Romano-Frankish verse blurs the division of the first clause by using *syllaba* **V** on 'Scapulis suis' rather than a formulaic phrase **1**, prompted perhaps by the text cue of 'Quoniam angelis suis' in verse 8 (see p. 44). In the second half of the Romano-Frankish verse 4, the division between phrase **3** and **4** material on 'et sub pennis eius sperabis' is blurred because of following the text cue of 'sperabo in eum' in verse 2.[38]

*Domine exaudi* verse 5 consists of a compound sentence. The first main clause has a comparative clause; the second is followed by a subordinate clause. At first sight, it would make sense to divide between each of the four clauses. However, the textual parallel with the previous verse leads to use of phrase **1g** on the comparative clause, with 'sicut fenum' mirroring phrase **1g** on 'sicut fumus' in the previous verse. The main part of the second clause, 'et aruit cor meum', therefore ends the first verse half with phrase **2**. There is punctuation after 'fenum' in the Bosworth Psalter, paralleling this text division. Only the subordinate clause remains to be articulated in the second verse half. Explicit use of the subject after the first person singular verb 'oblitus sum' acts as a point of separation from the infinitive and the object to which it refers ('manducare panem meum').

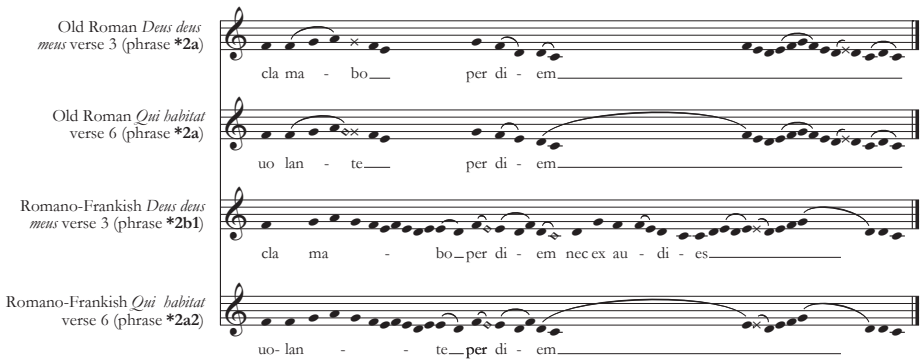
*Deus deus meus* verse 3 consists of a compound sentence with four clauses, paired into two sets of two clauses. In the first clause, the vocative receives its own (emphatic) phrase in both traditions. On 'clamabo per diem', the verb and prepositional phrase which complete the first clause, the Old Roman tradition has phrase ***2a**, following the text cue of *Qui habitat* verse 6, which has phrase ***2a** on 'uolante per diem', before completing the verse half with a further phrase **2** on the second clause. The Romano-Frankish tradition instead has a single phrase ***2b1** for the whole of the two clauses (see Example 8). Use of *comma* * in the Romano-Frankish tradition on 'clamabo',[39] which parallels 'uolante', suggests that the text cue of 'per diem' was overridden in this tradition by the formal expectation of using just one phrase **2** (i.e. losing the phrase **2** cadence on '-em'). The second half of the verse

37 'eine offenbar durch die Kürze des . . . Textes motivierte Sonderform': *CR*, 58–9.

38 See p. 72.

39 *Comma* * is a decorated recitation, on which see pp. 68–9.

divides against the sense. Both traditions divide half way through the fourth clause (before the prepositional phrase) rather than between the third and fourth clauses, perhaps because the third clause consists only of two words 'et nocte'.




EXAMPLE 8

*Domine exaudi* begins 'Domine exaudi orationem meam'; *Domine audiui* begins 'Domine audiui auditum tuum', and the parallel text has led to a parallel melodic treatment of the first four words (phrase **0** plus repetition, phrase **2a1**), even though the syntactical structure of *Domine audiui* verse 1 is different, with two mirrored compound sentences, each consisting of two clauses, instead of the single compound sentence found in *Domine exaudi* verse 1. The short second clause ('et timui') of the first compound sentence in *Domine audiui* remains to be articulated and strongly belongs in the first verse half; it is therefore given a second phrase **2** (the Bosworth Psalter also punctuates both after 'tuum' and after 'timui').

### *Division against the sense to promote a reading*

The second half of *Domine audiui* verse 1 divides against the sense, after the verb 'I have considered' rather than between the two clauses 'I have considered your deeds, and was afraid'. This sentence was used frequently in patristic exegetical writings about psalms and other texts. Often when a biblical text mentions fear of the Lord, or the greatness of God's works, this sentence will be slipped in; 'as the prophet says: "consideraui opera tua et expaui"'.[40] To have the prophet's fear in the same musical phrase as the works of God is a way of emphasising their causal connection, despite their syntactical separation,[41] and this non-syntactical text division appears to be a

40 This is particularly common in Cassiodorus's writings. Examples may be found in his commentaries on Psalms 65, 76, 89 and 91 (see Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, transl. Patrick Walsh, Ancient Christian Writers 52 (New York, 1991), 108, 241, 376 and 390; see also Augustine's Commentary on Psalm 118 in *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Ioannes Fraipont, vol. 3, in CCSL 40 (Turnhout, 1956), 1757. Several further examples are given on the Vetus Latina Database at <www.brepolis.net>.

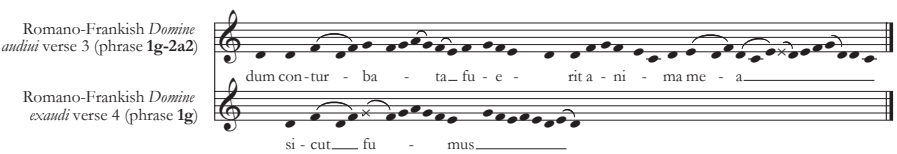
41 The Bosworth Psalter punctuation after 'tua' instead reflects the syntax.

nod to the common role of this sentence in exegetical quotation.

The simple sentence of *Domine audiui* verse 3 consists of a relative clause and a main one. Semantically, the prepositional phrase 'in ira' could belong in either verse half. In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine interprets the text as meaning: 'when I have stirred up my soul in anger, Lord remember mercy', contrasting Christ's mercy on the cross with the violence and anger of the Jews.[42] Alternatively, the text could mean: 'when I have stirred up my soul, you (God) will remember mercy in your anger'. Jerome writes that the Hebrew clearly shows that it is God who is both angry and merciful.[43] The Old Roman tract divides 'in ira' from the rest of the sentence by giving it a separate musical phrase. It could thus be interpreted as belonging with either half of the sentence (although its placement in the second verse half implies that the anger is God's). The Romano-Frankish version explicitly links 'anger' and 'mercy' by having the division after 'in ira misericordie'. Dividing against the syntax helps to clarify the sense here: in the Romano-Frankish reading, as in Jerome's, God shows mercy in his anger.

### *Division against the syntax: where text and melody are impossible to reconcile*

In the first half of *Domine audiui* verse 3, the musical construction of the genre is impossible to reconcile with the text structure. 'In eo' does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence, meaning the same as 'dum' which follows. If the syntax were followed, the musical division between phrase **1** and phrase **2** material would be after the verb phrase: 'In eo dum conturbata fuerit/ anima mea' ('At that point, when stirred up has been/ my soul'), and the Romano-Frankish tradition indeed follows a unique phrase (lacking a formulaic cadence) on 'In eo' with **1g** material on 'dum conturbata fuerit'.[44] The **1g** material does not cadence either,[45] and the material on 'fuerit' links melodically to the recitation which begins 'anima mea' (see Example 9), connecting the whole verse half together.




EXAMPLE 9

The Old Roman tradition uses phrase **1a** on 'In eo', and then phrase **1g**, dividing the verb phrase by cadencing on 'conturbata' ('when stirred up/ my soul has been')

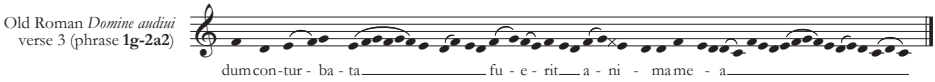
42 Augustine, *The City of God*, 863.

43 Jerome, *Commentarium in Abacuc*, 621–2.

44 Karp identifies 'In eo dum conturbata fuerit' in the Gregorian tradition as phrase $D_{IIa}$ (equivalent to **1g'** in my terminology): *AOFGC*, 355. I have preferred to maintain the distinction between the non-cadential phrase **1g** material and the unique material on 'In eo' which precedes it.

45 With rare, later, exceptions: *Stm* has neumes consistent with *FG FFEDE ED* and *Bre* has neumes consistent with *FG EFEDE ED*.

and contradicting the textual syntax. The recitation on 'fuerit' links melodically with the cadential material which precedes it (see Example 10).




EXAMPLE 10

The lack of musical punctuation, present to varying extents in both traditions, helps to make the verse half flow with as much continuity as possible, perhaps because of the impossibility of articulating the text with reference both to the musical and to the textual grammar.[46]

## *Division against the sense: text fragments*

The second half of *Domine audiui* verse 4 has the main part of the clause in one musical phrase, and uses a second musical phrase for the adjectives. To combine the prepositional phrase with the adjectives which belong with it initially seems a better solution ('de monte umbroso et condenso'), but this would leave a three-syllable conjunction plus noun 'et sanctus' with which to articulate phrase **3**. Avoidance of a text fragment has therefore apparently overridden a syntactical division into musical phrases.[47]

The second half of *Deus deus meus* verse 1 is a short question. It would be impossible to divide after the interrogative 'quare', since this is an auxiliary word rather than carrying content specific to the context. Instead, both traditions have phrase **3** material on 'quare me',[48] and then phrase **4** material on the verb 'dereliquisti'.

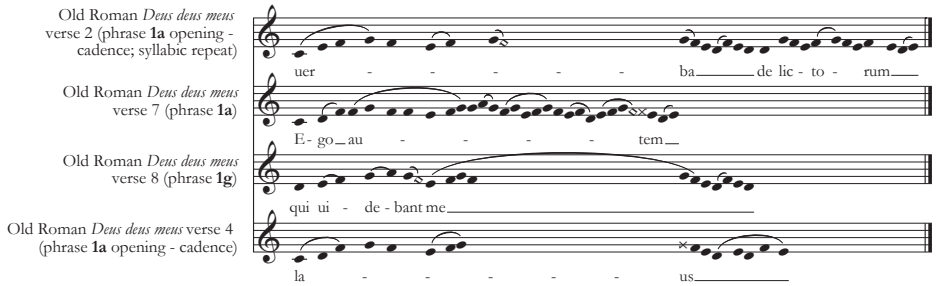
In *Qui habitat* verses 3 and 9, discussed above (pp. 30–1), the second halves of the verses have very short texts, and partial musical phrases are used to avoid text fragments. *Deus deus meus* verse 2 is similarly fragmentary. The first verse half consists of an intensifying adverb divided from the prepositional phrase, and the second verse half consists of a subject with its genitive description. These three words are not easily divided into the two expected phrases of a tract half verse. The Romano-Frankish tradition divides after the subject ('uerba'), using only the material usually associated with the last two syllables of phrase **3a** before phrase **4**; the Old Roman tradition has the phrase **1a** opening and cadence on 'uerba', and 'delictorum' uses a syllabic repeat of the same cadence (see Example 11),[49] tying the text of the verse half together. This is followed by phrase **4** on 'meorum'.

46 In the Romano-Frankish tradition, this may be exaggerated by the need to communicate clearly the sense of the unfamiliar text (see pp. 17–22).

47 On the first half of this verse, see pp. 110–11.

48 The Romano-Frankish manuscripts have a unique approach to the phrase 3 cadence: instead of the usual rise they have *FG FG*. This is only a fragment of phrase 3, and in fact *Iri* has *FEFGGFE* and *Ben 5* has *FEF* instead of the usual cadential shape *FEFGGF*, so that in those traditions there was clearly no break here, or instead a tension-filled silence before the next phrase. The Old Roman tradition has the usual shapes associated with the last three syllables in phrase **3b**.

49 On the use of a final note *E* in Old Roman cadence shapes usually ending on *D*, see pp. 45–47.



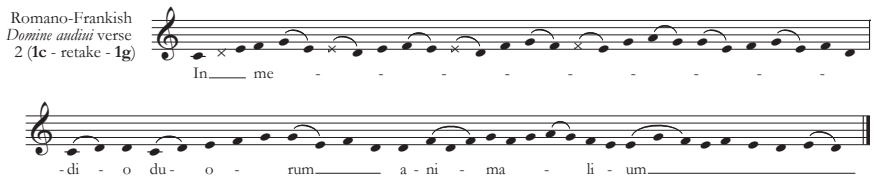

EXAMPLE 11

*Deus deus meus* verse 4 is a simple sentence, too short to divide into four phrases. In the first verse half, the subject is divided from the prepositional phrase plus verb. The second verse half consists only of a noun phrase ('laus israhel') describing the subject, and this receives a single emphatic phrase in both traditions (see pp. 100–1).

## *Tripartite verses*

Some biblical verses consist of three sentences or sense units rather than two. Either the biblical verse is divided between two tract verses, as in *Domine exaudi* verses 2 and 3, or the usual quadripartite structure of a second-mode tract verse is compromised to accommodate the amount of text.

*Domine audiui* verse 2 consists of a list of three ways that God will be recognised, in three sentences. Each sentence consists of a prepositional phrase or relative clause and then the main clause. A division into six musical phrases makes sense of the textual structure but contradicts the usual four-fold structure of a second-mode tract verse (phrases **1**, **2**, **3** and **4**). In the first sentence, the main clause is separated from the prepositional phrase. One would expect phrase **1** material on 'In medio duorum animalium', with phrase **1g** on the noun phrase 'duorum animalium' since there is too much text for a single phrase, and this is exactly what we find in the Romano-Frankish tradition.[50] The recitation on 'duorum' helps to connect the two *D* phrases more than usual, since it revisits the gestures which began 'In medio' (see Example 12).




EXAMPLE 12

Two sentences each with a relative clause remain to be articulated and both traditions divide in each sentence between the relative clause and the main clause. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, the first relative clause uses a unique phrase

50 On the Old Roman treatment of the prepositional phrase, see pp. 108–9.

ending on *D* (see Example 3 on p. 21). Lacking a formulaic cadence, this underplays the phrase division before 'cognosceris': the sentence is treated as a single entity although it is more complex than a usual phrase 2. As in verse 3 (see pp. 33–4), this may have been a response to the unfamiliar Septuagint text, which was divided in larger units in the Romano-Frankish tradition to communicate the sense very clearly (see Chapter 1).[51]

*Qui habitat* verse 6 continues a list begun in verse 5, comprising three elements which could not easily be divided in a bipartite manner. In the first item, the adjectival phrase receives a separate musical phrase from the main sense-bearing prepositional phrase. The second and third items are treated as two composite centonised phrases, closely related until the last word or two words. The three list items are therefore articulated through a tripartite verse structure.

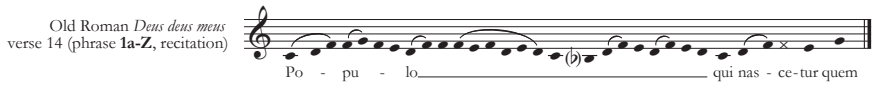
*Qui habitat* verse 7 is a compound sentence consisting of three clauses, each of which is subdivided into two musical phrases. To divide after the verb 'Cadent' makes sense, since the complete clause would be too long for a single phrase, and to divide after the prepositional phrase ('a latere tuo') would leave only the single word 'mille' to be articulated with a musical phrase. The second clause divides in the logical place, between the two syntactical elements of subject and prepositional phrase. The last clause again divides in the only possible place, between the object plus intensifier and the verb plus negative.

The last verse of *Qui habitat* consists of two compound sentences, each with two clauses. The first sentence divides between the two clauses. However, the second sentence, 'longitudinem dierum ad implebo eum et ostendam illi salutare meum', is too long to be associated with just two phrases, one for each clause. The first clause uses phrase 2 for a second time, and the second clause is divided (verb plus subject divided from the object) between phrases 3 and 4; to divide after the verb would leave subject and object together in a nonsensical phrase. This verse is treated in a tripartite manner because of the length of the second sentence.

### *Division against the sense because of unexpected scribal verse division*

*Deus deus meus* verse 13 consists of a single compound sentence with a clause in each verse half. In the first verse half, the subject is divided from the predicate. In the second, a phrase on the verb and subject is followed by another on the object. While this is on the face of it a standard division, the following verse, *Deus deus meus* verse 14, continues the second clause with a prepositional phrase and a relative clause. Despite the quadripartite nature of verse 13, it is not syntactically complete. In *Deus deus meus* verse 14, the Old Roman tradition has one phrase on the prepositional phrase and another on the relative clause. These phrases are joined into a single unit by having the same outline on 'qui nascetur' as at the beginning of 'Popu(lo)' (see Example 13).

51 The Bosworth Psalter divides this text differently: 'dum appropinquauerint/ anni cognosceris' (with a *punctus elevatus* marking the division). The second of the sentences is, however, divided in the same way as the tract: 'dum aduenerit tempus/cognosceris' (with a *punctus elevatus* again marking the division).




EXAMPLE 13

The Romano-Frankish tradition has no clear formulaic division between the prepositional phrase and the relative clause since the former has the non-cadential *comma* **Y**. In both traditions, then, the prepositional phrase and relative clause of the concluding verse are elided, to a greater or lesser extent, into a single phrase.

## *Summary*

As this exhaustive text division analysis demonstrates, textual syntax plays a major role in the division of the biblical text into tract verses. The Romano-Frankish possession of the linguistic tools to understand the Roman Psalter texts is hardly surprising since psalms were the basis of primary education in grammar, which began with memorisation of chanted psalms for use in liturgy, followed by the study of parts of speech and rules of pronunciation and accent:[52] it is precisely the parts of speech which are generally consistently and usually meaningfully divided within the second-mode tracts in both the Old Roman and the Romano-Frankish traditions.

There is rarely any choice about where to divide, given the need for a certain minimum number of syllables to articulate each phrase type. Text cues sometimes override the syntactical divisions. The text structure of some verses demands a tripartite division instead of a bipartite one. In these cases, the phrase divisions are consistent with the textual structure and with the amount of text one generally encounters in a second-mode tract phrase, but there are extra phrases in the verse. On several occasions, unexpected phrase divisions occur, or phrase divisions are minimised by lack of formulaic cadences or by the opening of a phrase linking back to the material of the previous one. In the Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verses 2 and 3, this may be a way of clarifying the unfamiliar text. Sometimes unexpected phrase divisions seem to contribute to highlighting important portions of text, and the way in which this interacts with emphatic melodic material will be explored in Chapter 4. In *Domine audiui* verse 3, it is not possible to divide the problematic text in a manner which both makes sense and follows the usual outline of the genre. The Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions sometimes follow different cues, where one follows a text cue while the other follows the syntax, or one makes an unexpected text division as part of emphasising an important word or phrase. This results in different text divisions in the two traditions. In general, however, textual syntax acted as a stabilising feature for the second-mode tracts, helping to keep the melody uniform in a primarily oral culture.

52 Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins', 202; see also Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 16–17. It took two to three years to learn the Psalter: see Pierre Riché, 'Le psautier: livre de lecture élémentaire', in *Études merovingiennes. Actes des Journées de Poitiers* (Paris, 1952), 253–6. On the centrality of the Psalms to monastic life, see Joseph Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', in Nancy van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1999), 59–89: 59–61; see also Boynton, 'Training for the Liturgy', 7–20.

## Postscript: accent patterns and different accentuation

The accent patterns of the biblical texts are an essential part of the construction of the second-mode tracts, since certain phrases are associated with particular concluding accent patterns (**1a**, **2a** and **3a** with /–; **1b**, **2b** and **3b** with /– –; **4a** with /–/– and **4b** with /– –/–). Before this point, certain figures are associated with accented syllables. Phrase **3a** may be used to furnish an illustrative example of this (for transcriptions, see Appendix 4). When the phrase ends with the accent pattern /–/–,[53] the final accent always has the shape *DCD(E)FG* in the Romano Frankish tradition and *DCDFGaG* in the Old Roman tradition. The penultimate accent, when there are only two accents, has *EF* in the Romano-Frankish tradition and *F(E)* in the Old Roman tradition. Syllables before this have *C* and syllables after it have *D* or *DE* in both traditions. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, only two phrases of this type have more than two accents. In *Deus deus meus* verses 11 ('únicórnuórum') and 12 ('uniuérsum sémen iácob'), the opening (*C C*) *ÉF D* is followed by an extra *DÉ D* recitation. In the Old Roman tradition, *Deus deus meus* verses 10 and 12 similarly follow the usual *C C FÉ DE* opening with an extra oscillating *DÉ DE* pattern. The last appearance of the phrase in the Old Roman *Qui habitat* (verse 13) and *Deus deus meus* (verse 13) instead has C recitation until the penultimate accent, when the usual shapes for the phrase type are followed. The Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **3c** here, associated with final verses, and the non-standard Old Roman treatment of these texts may reflect a late loss of an equivalent phrase. When phrase **3a** ends /– –/–,[54] the treatment of the penultimate accent is affected. After C recitation at the beginning of the phrase for any syllables preceding the penultimate accent, the Old Roman tradition has *F* on the accent followed by *FE DE* on the unaccented syllables, and the Romano-Frankish tradition has *EF* on the accent followed by *D(E) D* on the unaccented syllables. The association of particular melodic shapes with accented or unaccented syllables is completely systematic in phrase **3a**. I give further illustrative examples pertaining to the different versions of phrase **2** on pp. 50–4, and the presence of particular melodic material appearing consistently with accented or unaccented syllables is clearly visible in the vertical alignment of the transcriptions in Appendix 4.[55]

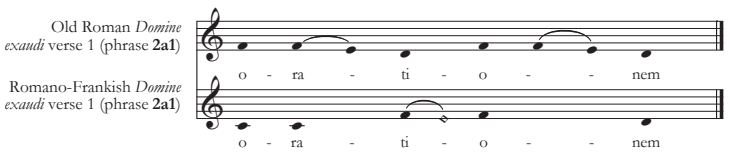
53 Both traditions: Qui habitat verse 1 ('in protéctióne'), 5 ('nón timébis'), 7 ('tíbi áutem'), 8 ('ut custódiánt te') and 10 ('et cónculcábis'); Domine exaudi verse 4 ('et óssa mea'); Deus deus meus verse 3 ('et nócte ét non') and 5 ('spérauérunt'). Old Roman tradition (where the Romano-Frankish tradition has a different phrase): Qui habitat verses 4 ('et sub pénnis éius') and 13 ('et osténdam ílli' and 'et glorificábo éum'); Domine exaudi verses 1 ('et clámor méus') and 6 ('quia vénit témpus' and 'quia témpus vénit'); Deus deus meus verse 13 ('et annunciábunt céli'); Domine audiui verses 1 ('consíderáui'), 4 ('et sánctus de mónte') and 5 ('et láudes éius'). Romano-Frankish tradition (where the Old Roman tradition has a different phrase) in: Qui habitat verse 12 ('cúm ipsó sum'); Deus deus meus verse 10 ('diuisérunt síbi').

54 This occurs in both traditions in: *Deus deus meus* verses 6 ('in té sperauérunt'), 8 ('locúti sunt lábiis') and 9 ('saluum fáciat éum'); *Qui habitat* verse 11 ('prótegam éum'). It occurs in the Old Roman tradition (where the Romano-Frankish tradition has a different phrase) in: *Domine audiui* verse 2 ('dum approprinquáuerunt ánni' and 'dum aduénerit témpus') and 4 ('et sánctus de mónte').

55 Similar detailed examples demonstrating the role of text accent in second-mode tract phrase

On a handful of occasions, the concluding accent patterns of a phrase are interpreted differently in the two traditions, leading to the use of different phrase shapes. In *Qui habitat* verse 12, the Old Roman tradition has phrase **3b** on 'cum ípso sum'. The Romano-Frankish tradition, as represented in my sample, usually has phrase **3a** on 'cúm ipsó sum' instead.[56] In the Romano-Frankish version, the monosyllabic 'sum' is treated enclitically. Rather than having an accent of its own, it produces an accent on the last syllable of the previous word, which loses its normal accent.[57] In *Deus deus meus* verse 8, the Old Roman 'locuti sunt lábiis' does not use the expected phrase **3b**; *Orc* and *Orj* have the *DCFGaG* usually associated with the penultimate (accented) syllable of phrase **3a** divided between the two syllables of 'labi-' as *DC FGaG*. *Orp* instead contracts 'la-biis' into two syllables and the manuscript has the usual text underlay for phrase **3a**. In the Romano-Frankish version of *Deus deus meus* verse 8, 'labiis' is treated as a two-syllable word in *Cha1*, *Lan*, *Gal1* and *Fle1*, among many other manuscripts.[58] In some later manuscripts the word is treated as having three syllables, using phrase **3b** (for example, in *Iri* and *Dij1*). In *Domine exaudi* verse 5, the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **2a** for 'et aruit cor méum', but the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **2b** for 'et aruit cór meum'. Sometimes there are varying interpretations of the accent pattern at the end of the phrase within the Romano-Frankish tradition, resulting in the use of different shapes in different manuscripts. These have been exhaustively investigated elsewhere and will not be discussed further here.[59]

Even when the final accent is interpreted consistently, varying interpretations of the accent patterns earlier in a phrase can result in a quite different melodic outline in the two traditions. Two examples will serve to illustrate the point. In phrase **2a1** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, *F* is usually attached to the first accent and *FE* to the syllable before it. In the Old Roman tradition, each accent within the recitation is usually given the pitches *FFE* or *FE*, and the syllable following each of these accents usually has the pitch *D*. In *Domine exaudi* verse 1, the Romano-Frankish tradition treats 'oratiónem' as having one accent, with the first *F* on '-o-', preceded by *FE* on '-ti-', while the Old Roman tradition treats 'orátiónem' as having two accents, with *(F)FE D* on '-rati-' and again on '-ónem' (see Example 14).




EXAMPLE 14

construction are given in Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 105–46.

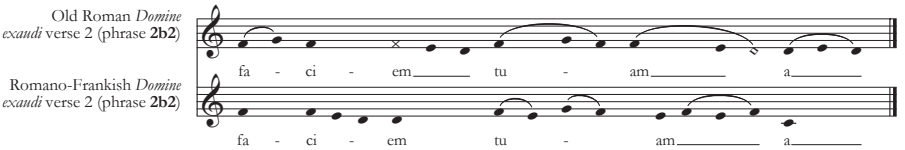
56 Pfisterer identifies this accentuation as being followed in 16 of his manuscripts (*CR*, 195). In my sample, phrase **3b** is used only in *Eli*.

57 *CR*, 194–6.

58 For a list of later manuscripts, see *CR*, 198.

59 *CR*, 194–211.

Similarly, phrase **2b2** uses shapes including G on the accents. The Romano-Frankish 'faciem tuam a me' in *Domine exaudi* verse 2 treats 'tú-' as the accent, but the Old Roman version treats both this syllable and 'fá-' as accents (see Example 15).




EXAMPLE 15

The role of accent patterns on the microscopic level of phrase construction is illustrated in these examples, and will be taken as read in the rest of my analysis.[60]

60 For an exhaustive account of the role of text accent in phrase shape in the eighth-mode tracts, see Xavier Kainzbauer, 'Der Tractus Tetrardus: eine centologische Untersuchung', *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 11 (Regensburg, 1991), 1–132.

# 3

# THE MUSICAL GRAMMAR OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS

In reaching the fullest possible understanding of a musical genre, it is neither necessary nor, probably, desirable to limit oneself to the technical vocabulary used at the time of the music's composition and dissemination. However, this vocabulary and the conceptual understanding it reflects can suggest profitable routes for analysis. This chapter therefore begins with a brief consideration of the relationship between the *ars grammatica* and medieval concepts of musical structure as expressed in the contemporary music theory. This forms the backdrop for a detailed description of the musical grammar of the second-mode tracts. The rationales lying behind choice of phrase shape are discussed, including an identification of phrase shapes associated with particular verses, words or syntactical structures. This builds on previous analytical excursions into the repertory, but my interpretations differ from those of previous scholars in several significant respects, primarily related to the factors governing the choice of one phrase shape rather than another when the formulaic system appears to allow for choice: this has not previously been tackled systematically.

## The *ars grammatica* and the *ars musica*

The acquisition of vocabulary for the Carolingian *ars musica* was a major achievement of the ninth century.[1] The largely abstract musical vocabulary of antiquity was insufficient for describing and prescribing medieval practice although the Carolingians were enormously indebted to the vocabulary of their Graeco-Latin music-theoretical heritage (via Boethius, Cassiodorus and Augustine).[2] From the mid-ninth century, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* was widely studied, further enriching the vocabulary of the *ars musica*.[3] Carolingian writers leaned on Byzantine models for the development and articulation of the eight-mode system;[4]

1 Michel Huglo, 'Le développement du vocabulaire de l'ars musica à l'époque carolingienne', *Latomus* 34 (1975), 131–51: 151

2 Dyer, 'The Monastic Origins', esp. 217–224; Huglo, 'Le développement', 136–7.

3 Huglo, 'Le développement', 142–9.

4 Huglo, 'Le développement', 138–9.

other concepts and vocabulary of the *ars musica* are drawn from the *ars grammatica*, a thoroughly established discipline that presented few problems of adaptation to the early-medieval context. Palaeo-Frankish notation was apparently based upon, and described in terms of, prosodic accents.[5] Bede's *De arte metrica* was mined for rhythmic and other vocabulary; his organisation of topics parallels the hierarchical approach of medieval music theory.[6] In the *ars grammatica*, text was discussed in a hierarchical structure, from *periodus* through *cola* and *commata* (or *neuma/pars* and *distinctio*) to syllables and letters. Medieval music theorists commonly equated this hierarchy with melodic structure and cadence organisation, using the same vocabulary.[7]

The connection between music and grammar was more than a structural analogy: music theorists recognised music as itself having a grammar.[8] Medieval commentators used grammatical terminology to describe chants in a manner very like 'discretio', the distinguishing of sense units before the delivery of a text.[9]

This does not mean that chant analysis can profitably be modelled directly on linguistic analysis.[10] Rather than attempting to apply musical equivalents of linguistic sentence structures to the repertory under consideration, I prefer to focus on the definition of grammar as a set of rules for what constitutes a correct utterance in a given language. In this sense, musical languages have grammars as verbal languages do, and these grammars can and should be uncovered through musical analysis, in musical terms.[11]

5 Atkinson, '*De accentibus toni*', 17–42.

6 Desmond, '*Sicut in grammatica*', 470; see also Huglo, 'Le développement', 137.

7 See Desmond, '*Sicut in grammatica*', and Bower, 'The Grammatical Model'. The application of grammatical vocabulary to music theory has been summarised more recently by Dolores Pesce, 'A Historical Context for Guido d'Arezzo's Use of *Distinctio*', in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), 146–62: 148–50.

8 Desmond, '*Sicut in grammatica*', 486–9 has examples drawn from *Micrologus*, *Musica enchiriadis* and Hucbald's *De musica*.

9 Desmond, '*Sicut in grammatica*', 487. For a description of John's example of *Petrus autem* broken up *per cola et commata*, with a hierarchy of cadence notes corresponding to the hierarchy of textual divisions, see Bower, 'The Grammatical Model', 137.

10 As is clearly argued in Harold Powers, 'Language Models and Musical Analysis', *Ethnomusicology* 24 (1980), 1–60.

11 This assertion is associated in particular with Margaret Bent, whose claim that dyadic counterpoint is the basis of fourteenth-century polyphony greatly facilitates comprehension of its melodic style: see Margaret Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis', in Christle Collins Judd (ed.), *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (New York, 1998), 15–59. Attempts at explicitly uncovering the grammatical structure of chant started with Treitler, in 'Homer and Gregory', and also in '"Centonate Chant": Übles Flickwerk or *E pluribus unus*?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 1–23 (criticised by Power for 'undervalu[ing] the aims and underestimat[ing] the methods of traditional chant scholarship'; see Powers, 'Language Models', 56, note 17; see also Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago, 1992), 13–21). As Powers suggests, much chant scholarship had already focused on uncovering the generative systems of particular families of chants, although the link with grammatical structure was generally implicit. My own book *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot, 2002) is an example of this: the analysis fully exposes the grammar of the genre, without at any point expressing it in grammatical

## The grammar of the second-mode tracts: introduction

Combining a hierarchical approach to pitches with consideration of the textual structure can be immensely valuable in identifying possible cadence points in an unfamiliar and idiomelic chant melody.[12] Formulaic chants like the second-mode tracts present rather different challenges. There is indeed a hierarchy of cadence notes, with a *C* cadence usually appearing at the mid-point of the verse and a *D* cadence always finishing the verse. The second verse half is usually divided by a further, less structurally important, cadence on *F*, and the first verse half is divided by one or two cadences on *D*. The presence of these cadences has been understood for many years and their identification is generally uncontroversial. Their placement is connected to the textual syntax (as demonstrated in Chapter 2 and summarised in Appendix 1), as the medieval music theory would lead one to expect.

The four main phrases of a typical tract verse might be likened to the *cola* (clauses) of the medieval *ars grammatica* and *ars musica*. Multiple versions of each of the four phrases are clearly differentiated. While previous scholars have chosen a variety of labels for the phrase types,[13] and there have been differences of opinion over which groups of phrases fit within the same category and which are separate, there is broad agreement over identifying the phrase versions. These phrases, or *cola*, form my primary analytical unit. Closely related phrases with a single constructive principle are given the same alphabetical subscript in my analysis (**1a**, **3b** etc.). Within a set of phrases given the same subscript, all examples share the same cadence and have the same melodic principles operating before that point. The *cola* will be discussed in detail below (pp. 45–67). Second-mode tracts also include *commata*, musical phrases which are not independent according to the musical grammar, and which end with weak cadences, or with none at all. They will be discussed in detail later in this chapter (pp. 67–72).

Medieval theorists also refer to *syllabae* or *neumae* in chant, which are short identifiable gestures.[14] There are many *syllabae* in second-mode tracts, from the stereotyped cadences to the *DCDA* gambit which opens each chant. Some *syllabae*

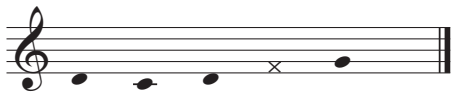
terms. Examples explicitly outlining musical grammars include Edward Nowacki, 'Studies on the Office Antiphons of the Old Roman Manuscripts' (Ph.D. thesis, Brandeis University, 1980), and Nowacki, 'Text Declamation', although Jeffery criticises Nowacki's discussion of musical grammar for its concentration on the pitch-to-pitch level (while acknowledging that Nowacki explores more levels in his analysis): see Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, 19.

12 For examples of this approach, see Bower, 'The Grammatical Model', and Rankin, 'Carolingian Music'.

13 See pp. 6–7.

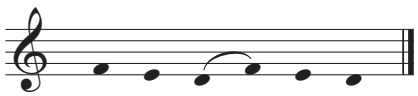
14 Schmidt uses the term *Floskel* for the same concept. Several examples are given in Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 53–78. Karp uses the term 'motif' for such shapes. He believes that they have a fundamental role within and between genres, linking different phrase types or formulaic systems: see *AOFGC*, 112. In Carolingian music theory, the word *syllaba* was used for a neume, or for a single auditory event, rather than for a longer passage: see Blair Sullivan, 'Grammar and Harmony: The Written Representation of Musical Sound in Carolingian Treatises' (Ph.D. thesis, University College, Los Angeles, 1994), especially 78–80.

appear in only one phrase type; some appear in more than one phrase within a formal context; others appear in more than one formal context (although this is less common). One *syllaba* appearing in a particular formal context is the Romano-Frankish rise on one syllable shown in Example 16, often with a quilisma within the rise. This appears on the final accent in phrase **3**, whether phrase **3a**, **3b** or **3c** is used.

Romano-Frankish phrase **3** rise 

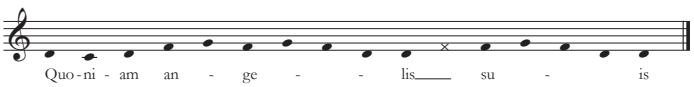
EXAMPLE 16

The Old Roman cadence in Example 17 is an example of a *syllaba* appearing in more than one formal context. It appears at the end of each of the two opening phrases of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, at the end of phrases **1b** and **1g**, and also at the end of phrase **4f**.

Old Roman cadential figure 

EXAMPLE 17

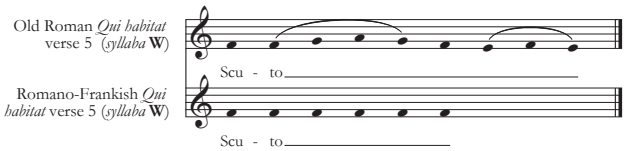
While most *syllabae* form part of a larger phrase, and are therefore not separately labelled in my analysis, there are two exceptions to this, both of which are used at verse openings. *Syllaba* **V** is found instead of phrase **1** in the Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verses 4 and 8 (which share a text cue, 'suis') and *Deus deus meus* verse 9, and its oscillating recitation enunciates the text very clearly (see Example 18). For transcriptions of all the phrases discussed in this analysis, see Appendix 4.

Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 8 (*syllaba* **V**) 


EXAMPLE 18

Like *syllaba* **V**, *syllaba* **W** emphatically enunciates a short portion of text, usually the opening word or words of a verse, while using neither the standard recitation gestures of the genre, nor one of the standard phrases with a formulaic cadence (see Example 19).[15]

15 It is used in the Old Roman tradition on 'Sperauit' (*Deus deus meus* verse 9) and 'Dicet' (*Qui habitat* verse 2), and in both traditions on 'Scuto' (*Qui habitat* verse 5), 'Omnes' (*Deus deus meus* verse 8) and 'Ipsi uero' (*Deus deus meus* verse 10; the Romano-Frankish tradition immediately repeats the figure on 'considerauerunt'). *Syllaba* **W** is also used in the Romano-Frankish tradition on 'In te sperauerunt' (*Deus deus meus* verse 5), 'generatio' (*Deus deus meus* verse 13), and 'dierum' (*Qui habitat* verse 13). All four of the occurrences in the Romano-Frankish tradition only are immediately followed by phrase **2a1**, in which the penultimate syllable also has a repeated *F* figure.




EXAMPLE 19

There are two circumstances under which the musical grammar of the second-mode tracts appears to be overridden. The first of these is that text cues can temporarily suspend the musical grammar, leading to use of an unexpected phrase shape or an unexpected version of a phrase shape. The second circumstance is where a unique phrase, a non-formulaic phrase or a decorated formulaic phrase is used in place of the expected phrase. While the shapes of the non-formulaic and emphatic phrases will be discussed below (pp. 64–7), the motivations behind their use, and the impact they have, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions usually have equivalent outlines in a given phrase type. While I do not spell this out verbally in each case, the alignment of the comparative musical examples in this chapter graphically illustrates this equivalence.

## The standard *cola* of the second-mode tracts: phrases 1, 2, 3 and 4

### *Phrases* **1a**, **1b**, *and* **1d**

Phrase **1** is used for the first syntactical unit of text in a verse, comprising between one and three (or exceptionally four) words. It cadences on *D* and concentrates on the 'f–d core'.[16] Within this general scheme, the Romano-Frankish tradition has several very different ways of articulating the structure.[17] The Old Roman phrase **1** cadences are more similar than in the Romano-Frankish tradition, but the material that precedes them is less obviously based on the same fundamental pitch structure; according to Schmidt, it is often easier to see how the Old Roman phrases relate to their Romano-Frankish cognates than to each other.[18] Previous scholars have not satisfactorily explained the textual and formal circumstances under which each of these phrase shapes is used.

In all three Old Roman manuscripts, the verse-opening phrases sometimes end with an open cadence on *E* or *F* rather than with the expected closed cadence on *D*

16 This is Treitler's description: see Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory'; 351.

17 Schmidt writes that phrases **1a**, **1b**, **1c** and **1d** all have the melodic skeleton *F-G-F-D*, articulated in different ways. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, if phrase **1b** is considered to be the basic shape, phrase **1c** extends it by sequence, phrase **1a** intensifies it by rising to *a*, and by adding the neighbour note beneath each of the four structural tones, and phrase **1d** uses repetition of the *FGFD* shape: Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 1–25, 10; 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 59–60; 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 288.

18 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 290, 297.

(see Table 7).[19] It is possible that, although such occasions utilise a cadential gesture, the textual syntax is being neglected: since the phrase lacks the resolution onto *D*, it is joined onto the subsequent phrase.[20] However, the phrases have clearly cadential movements, missing only the final pitch, or turning a cadential *FED* into *EDF*, or similar. *D*-mode cadences are in general less clearly focused on *D* in the Old Roman tradition than in the Romano-Frankish tradition, using *E* or even *F* within second-mode chants at clearly cadential moments.[21]

Table 7. Open and closed cadences in the Old Roman second-mode tracts

| SYNTACTICAL CONTEXT | OPEN CADENCE | CLOSED CADENCE |
|---|---|---|
| end of a clause, or end of the main part of a clause | *Deus deus meus* v. 6, *Qui habitat* v. 11, *Domine exaudi* v. 5 | *Deus deus meus* vv. 9, 11 and 12, *Qui habitat* v. 12 |
| end of a prepositional phrase | | *Qui habitat* vv. 6 and 9 |
| at the end of a vocative | | *Deus deus meus* v. 3 |
| at the end of an introduction to direct speech | *Qui habitat* verse 2 | |
| at the end of syntactically inessential intensifiers | *Deus deus meus* v. 4 (*Orp* has a closed cadence), *Deus deus meus* v. 7, and *Domine audiui* v. 3 | |
| after part of a clause | *Deus deus meus* v. 2 (*Orp* has a closed cadence), *Deus deus meus* v. 5, *Domine exaudi* v. 4 (*Orp* has a closed cadence), | *Deus deus meus* v. 13, *Qui habitat* vv. 3, 4, 7 and 8, *Domine exaudi* vv. 2, 3 and 6, and *Domine audiui* v. 4, and *Domine audiui* v. 5 (*Orp* has an open cadence). |
| after part of a prepositional phrase | *Domine audiui* v. 2, *Qui habitat* v. 10 (*Orp* has a closed cadence). | |

As shown in Table 7, either open or closed cadences can be used at the ends of clauses or other syntactical units, or in the middle of clauses. Either open or closed cadences can be used before phrase **1g**,[22] a phrase whose use indicates that the verse-opening sense continues beyond the opening word or words. An open cadence is used in *Qui habitat* verse 2, after an introduction to direct speech. This is syntactically closed, but semantically leads on to the direct speech. One could make an argument for the 'unfinished phrase' reflecting the semantic connection between 'Dicet domino' and the speech which follows just as easily as one could make the

19 This also happens at the end of the first phrase of *Qui habitat* and of *Deus deus meus*.

20 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 292. This possibility is also raised in *AOFGC*, 322.

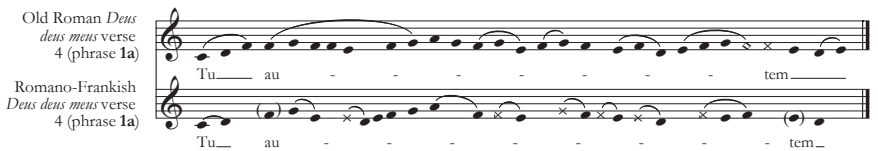
21 For example, in the alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*, the Romano-Frankish version has a cadence on *D* on '(domi)num', where a pause is clearly demanded by the text, while the Old Roman version ends on *F*. My thanks to Óscar Mascareñas for pointing out this example to me, and for stimulating discussion of this point. Karp speculates that 'perhaps it was felt that a conclusion on e carried equal weight with one on d, or that the cadence was here an open one': *AOFGC*, 322.

22 An open cadence is used in *Domine audiui* verse 3, *Domine exaudi* verse 4 (*Orp* has a closed cadence), *Domine exaudi* verse 5, and *Qui habitat* verse 10 (*Orp* has a closed cadence). A closed cadence is used in *Qui habitat* verses 3 and 9.

argument that the cadence (albeit open) reflects the syntactical separation of 'Dicet domino' from what follows.

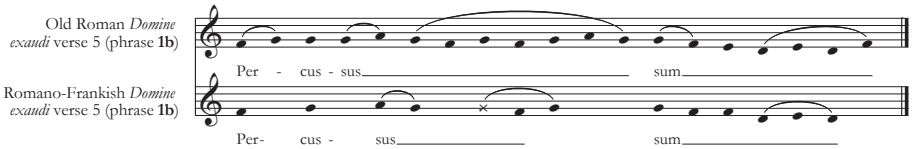
It is clear from this account that the use of *E* or *F* (open) rather than *D* (closed) as the cadence note does not reliably correlate with whether or not the syntactical unit and/or phrase **1** material is concluding at the end of the phrase. I have speculated elsewhere that such open cadences in chant are followed by tension-filled silences, because of the contravention of the expected cadential resting point, and that their emphatic effect might be likened to that of an interrupted cadence in common-practice music.[23] In the Old Roman *D*-mode chants, the use of such cadences appears to be an aesthetic decision outside the articulation of textual and musical grammar, as is perhaps reflected in the independent tradition of the later *Orp* compared to the other two manuscripts. The tension-filled silence following a verse-opening cadence on *E* or *F* is apparently a purely musical silence, unrelated to the articulation of textual syntax or formulaic phrase.

*Phrase* **1a** is used when the text ends with the accent pattern /– (see Example 20).[24]




EXAMPLE 20[25]

*Phrase* **1b**, which is very much shorter, is used when the text ends /– – (see Example 21).[26]




EXAMPLE 21

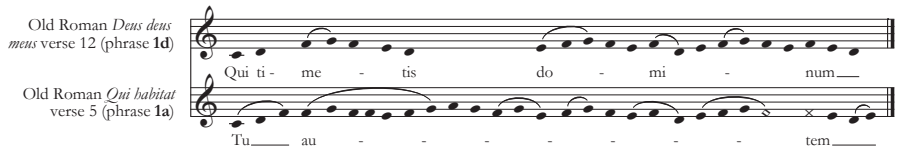
23 Emma Hornby, 'Preliminary Thoughts about Silence in Western Plainchant', in Nicky Losseff and Jenny Doctor (eds.), *Silence, Music, Silent Music* (Aldershot, 2007), 141–54: 150–1.

24 It is used in both traditions in *Deus deus meus* verse 4 (twice) and verse 7, and *Domine exaudi* verse 4. It is used in the Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 2, *Domine audiui* verse 2 and *Domine exaudi* verse 2, where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **1c** (on which see pp. 61–2). It is used in the Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verses 3,7 and 11, where the Old Roman tradition has phrase **1d** (on which, see pp. 48–9). It is used in the Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 3, where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **3**, following a text cue, and in the Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 3, where the Romano-Frankish tradition has a unique phrase (as discussed on p. 21).

25 On this occasion, the phrase **1a** melisma in *Fle1* omits two of the notes characteristic of this phrase, and they have been added in brackets to Example 20.

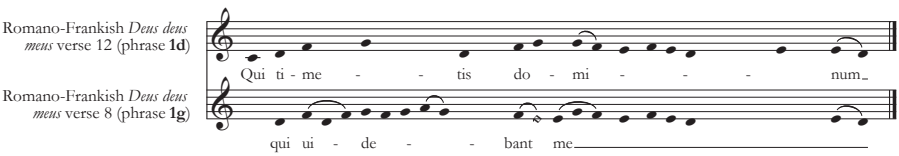
26 In *AOFGC*, 118, Karp associates phrase **1b** with the ends of chants since it is used in both traditions in *Domine exaudi* verses 5 and 6, *Domine audiui* verse 5 and *Qui habitat* verses 9, 10 and 12. However, it is not used in the final verse of *Qui habitat* or at all in *Deus deus meus* and I consider it to be chance that the verses which end with this accent pattern, and where no other textual, formal or gestural cues prompt use of other phrases, tend to appear near the ends of the three chants in question.

*Phrase* **1d** in the Old Roman tradition has the same cadence as the phrase **1a** cadence, except for occasional alterations due to liquescence, or to avoid cadencing on *D*, although the two cadences are neumed quite differently in *Orc*, as the slurs in Example 22 make clear.



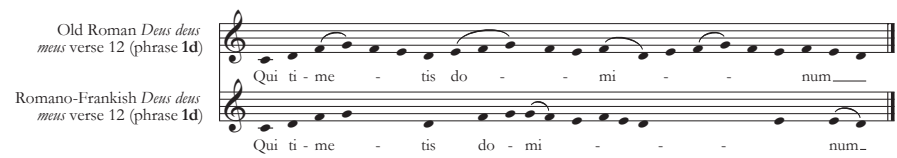

EXAMPLE 22

The Romano-Frankish **1d** cadence is closer to that of the Romano-Frankish phrase **1g** (on which, see pp. 49–50), as Example 23 illustrates.




EXAMPLE 23

Despite these alternative close relationships in the two traditions, phrase **1d** is still related in the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish versions (see Example 24).




EXAMPLE 24

In the Romano-Frankish tradition, phrase **1d** is used only for three texts ending 'domin-';[27] the Old Roman tradition uses the same phrase on all three occasions as well as for one further 'domin-' text.[28] The phrase is also used for a set of other textually related phrases in the Old Roman tradition. It is used in several verse openings consisting of a short prepositional phrase followed by a verb[29] as well as in verses beginning 'Quoniam'.[30]

27 *Deus deus meus* verse 12: 'Qui timetis dominum', *Deus deus meus* verse 13: 'Annunciabitur domino, and *Qui habitat* verse 2: 'Dicet domino'. This text cue was recognised in Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 109.

28 *Deus deus meus* verse 9: '(Sperauit) in domino'. Both 'Sperauit' and 'Dicet' in *Qui habitat* verse 2 have *syllaba* **W** rather than phrase **1d** recitation.

29 *Qui habitat* verse 11: 'Quoniam in me sperauit', and *Deus deus meus* verses 5 and 6: 'In te sperauerunt' [note the 'sperau-' cue also] and 'Ad te clamauerunt'.

30 *Qui habitat* verse 11 as well as verses 3 and 8: 'Quoniam ipse' and 'Quoniam angelis suis'. The last of these apparently cued use of phrase **1d** in *Qui habitat* verse 4, 'Scapulis suis'.

The Romano-Frankish tradition has the standard phrase **1a** for two of the 'Quoniam' phrases.[31] The third instead has *syllaba* **V**.[32] On other occasions where the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **1d**, the Romano-Frankish version has *syllaba* **W**[33] or phrase **X**.[34] On these occasions, the Romano-Frankish tradition uses non-formulaic or decorated material rather than following the text cue.

Phrase **1d** is also used in the middle of *Qui habitat* verse 7 in the Old Roman tradition on 'et decem milia' although this is not prompted by a textual cue. The Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **1a**, with the wrong accent pattern, and there is no text cue either.[35] I think it likely that the phrase was originally a non-formulaic *D* phrase in the middle of the tripartite verse (by analogy with verse 6 of the same chant in both traditions and verse 13 in the Romano-Frankish tradition). This phrase had a cadence similar to the shape found in the Romano-Frankish phrase **1a** and that shared by the Old Roman phrases **1a** and **1d** (shown in Example 22 on p. 48), and the phrase became independently assimilated into the closest formulaic phrase in each of the two traditions.

In the Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 1, phrase **1d** follows the opening of the chant, although this is out of the usual formal context for the phrase, and there is no textual cue. A unique recitation at this point seems to have become assimilated into the formulaic phrase (see p. 29 and the accompanying discussion).

Phrase **1d** is used in the Old Roman tradition for a whole nexus of textually related phrases and seems to have been the default *D* phrase into which less formulaic passages became stereotyped over time. The Romano-Frankish tradition, while also following the 'domin-' cue to use phrase **1d**, has greater variety in the treatment of these verse openings. Either the nexus of phrase **1d** text cues arose in the Old Roman tradition after the two traditions diverged, or it was overridden in the Romano-Frankish tradition by alternative cues to use different phrase shapes.

### *Phrase* **1g**

When the first half verse divides into two syntactical units, with the division occurring after the first two or three words, phrase **1** is immediately followed by phrase **2**. When there are four or five words preceding the syntactical break within the first half verse, two phrases cadencing on *D* are used; the second of these is invariably phrase **1g** (see Example 25).[36] Phrase **1g** is used in this context in both traditions on

31 *Qui habitat* verses 3 and 11.

32 *Qui habitat* verse 8 (see p. 85), as does *Deus deus meus* verse 9 (see p. 98).

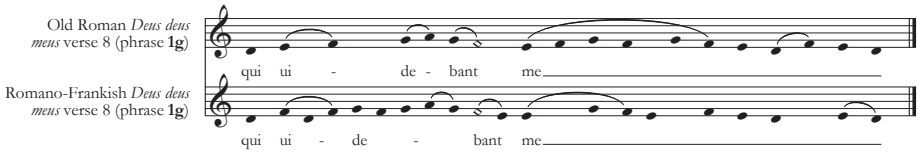
33 *Deus deus meus* verse 5 ('In te sperauerunt').

34 *Deus deus meus* verse 6.

35 Karp labels this uniquely as phrase $D_{36}$: see *AOFGC*, 116.

36 Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 328; *AOFGC*, 117–18. It should be noted that not all occurrences of phrase **1g** are included in Karp's tables (pp. 332–4). Phrase **1g** is one of the shapes identified by Schmidt as the *Flexenformel*, the second of five elements in the Romano-Frankish verse. His claim that the Old Roman tradition has no *Flexenformel* ('Sie ist innerhalb der römische Version in die Initialformel miteinbezogen') – despite his recognition of the correspondance of Old Roman and Romano-Frankish phrase **1g** material – is based on his view that Old Roman verse-opening phrases ending on *E* or *F* do not constitute complete phrases, as noted on p. 46 n. 20: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 287–8.

three occasions.[37] It is also used in the Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 2.

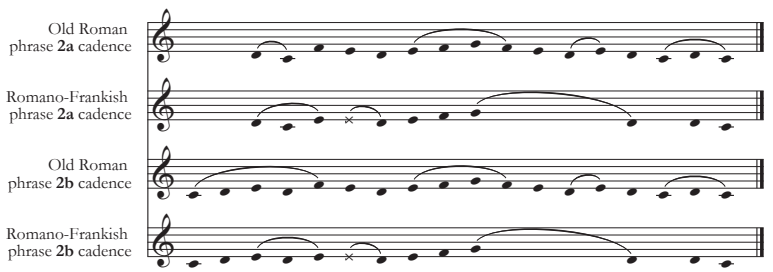



EXAMPLE 25

Phrase **1g** is used, as was discussed on pp. 30–1, in verses where a verb plus possessive pronoun appears near the beginning of the text, whether or not the syntax would lead one to expect the phrase.[38] The phrase is also used because of a text cue in *Domine exaudi* verse 5 ('sicut fumus' in verse 4 uses **1g**, as does 'sicut fenum' in verse 5), and it is used in the Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 6, breaking up the text so as to emphasise 'sion' (see pp. 106–7).

### *Phrases* 2a *and* 2b

Phrases **2a** and **2b** appear before the half-verse caesura, cadencing on C. Phrase **2a** is used for phrases ending with the accent pattern /– and phrase **2b** for phrases ending /– –. The final melisma begins in different ways in the two phrase types (see Example 26).[39]




EXAMPLE 26

The two traditions are closely equivalent in phrase **2** and share a very similar cadence shape, as can be seen in Example 26.[40] This cadence is found as a mediant

37 *Domine audiui* verse 3, *Domine exaudi* verse 4, and *Qui habitat* verse 10.

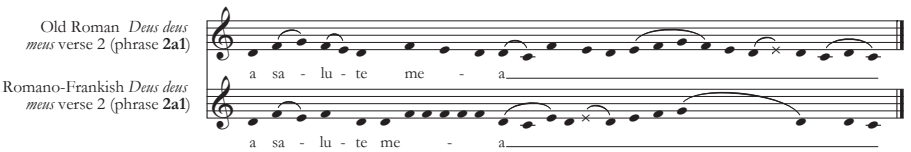
38 This occurs in both traditions in *Deus deus meus* verse 8 and *Qui habitat* verses 3, 5 and 9.

39 The two are not separated in Karp's analysis: see *AOFGC*, 113, 116. Schmidt does not appear to connect the different phrase shapes with different accent patterns, suggesting instead that phrase **2b** is typical for first verses: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 123.

40 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 293; *AOFGC*, 346. Treitler's reductive example of phrase **2** shapes used in *Deus deus meus* demonstrates the close relationship between the cadence shapes in different versions and in the two traditions, although the fact that the Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* does not use phrase **2c**, with its very different cadence (see p. 66), rather distorts the picture, giving a greater impression of uniformity than in fact is the case. For the earlier parts of the phrases, the reduction achieves little more than to remind us that the important notes of the phrase are *D* and *F*: see Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 361.

cadence in the eighth-mode tracts (transposed) as well as in many other chants; it is characteristically associated with the middle of the psalm verse.[41] Each subgroup of phrase **2a** or **2b** has particular *syllabae* associated with accents and non-accents.[42] These patterns, bridging the double tenors *F* and *D* are often note-for-note the same in the two traditions, although sometimes they are diametrically opposed.[43]

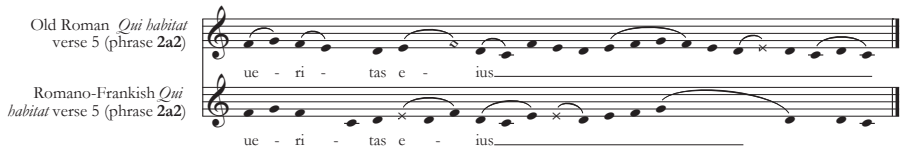
*Phrase* **2a1** is used for phrases ending /–/– (see Example 27).




EXAMPLE 27

The identifying characteristic of phrase **2a1** is the repeated *F* figure on the penultimate syllable in the Romano-Frankish tradition. Either this figure (or its equivalent) has been lost from the Old Roman version, or it was introduced independently in the Romano-Frankish tradition. The principal accents in the recitation have the pitch *FE* in the Old Roman tradition and *F* (following *FE*) in the Romano-Frankish tradition. Only the Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 2 (shown in Example 27) moves beyond the pitches *F*, *E* and *D* before the final melisma: it has *FG* on the syllable before the first accent. The phrase is used in both traditions on seven occasions.[44] It is used in *Qui habitat* verse 7 in the Old Roman tradition where the Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **2a3** because of a text cue (see p. 52). It is used in *Qui habitat* verse 13 ('et glorificabo eum') in the Romano-Frankish tradition where the Old Roman tradition has phrase **3** (on the melodic outline of this verse, see p. 74). Phrase **2a1** is used in *Qui habitat* verse 2 on 'susceptor meus es' in the Romano-Frankish tradition (following a text cue but compromising the usual accent associations – see p. 73) where the Old Roman tradition has the expected phrase **2b1**. Phrase **2a1** is also used in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Deus deus meus* verse 5 where the Old Roman tradition has the emphatic phrase **2c**.

*Phrase* **2a2** is used for phrases ending /– –/– (see Example 28).




EXAMPLE 28

41 *AOFGC*, 71–4. The cadence is used in several Old Roman graduals: *Sciant gentes*, *Custodi me*, *Timete dominum*, *Adjutor meus*, *Gloriosus deus*, *Os iusti*, *Miserere mei deus* in two places, and *Si ambulem* in two places: see Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 117.

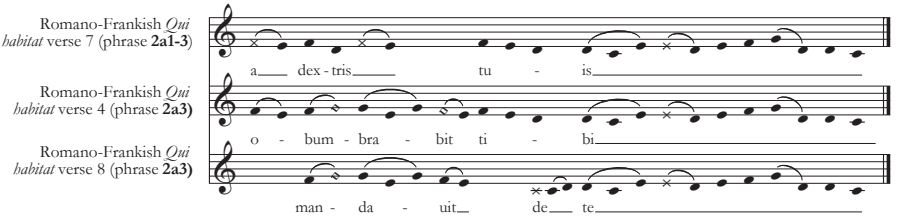
42 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 129; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 11.

43 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones' (1957), 294.

44 *Domine audiui* verse 1, *Domine exaudi* verse 1, *Qui habitat* verses 11 and 13 ('ad implebo eum'), *Deus deus meus* verses 2, 12 and 13 (the Old Roman tradition has too little text here ('uentura') to distinguish between phrases **2a1** and **2a2**, but the two traditions are in any case equivalent; the phrase is placed with phrase **2a1** in Appendix 4).

The cadential melisma of phrase **2a2** is exactly the same as that encountered in phrase **2a1**, but the movements before it are different. Unlike phrase **2a1**, the recitation in phrase **2a2** has *FG* on accents in both traditions. Phrase **2a2** is used in both traditions on seven occasions.[45] It is used in the Old Roman tradition to begin *Qui habitat* verse 13 ('Eripiam eum') because of a text cue (see p. 74).[46] Phrase **2a2** is also used in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Domine exaudi* verse 5.[47]

*Phrase* **2a3** is used only in the Romano-Frankish tradition.[48] It has the same cadential melisma as phrases **2a1** and **2a2**, but is differentiated from them before that (see Example 29).




EXAMPLE 29

Phrase **2a3** appears when the final accent is treated as a subsidiary accent to the one before that /–(/)–. The penultimate accent is given an emphatic *GEG* figure in *Qui habitat* verse 4 and the assonant *Qui habitat* verse 8, whose melodic shape differs only on the penultimate syllable. In some manuscripts, the connection between the two is even closer, with *FED* on the penultimate syllable in *Qui habitat* verse 8, treating the accent as 'dé te' rather than 'de té'.[49] *Qui habitat* verse 7 ('a dextris tuis') shares the *FED* fall on the penultimate syllable with *Qui habitat* verse 4 ('obumbrauit tibi'), perhaps cued by the second-person-singular possessive pronoun. However, the recitation at the opening of the phrase is compatible instead with phrase **2a1**, with *FE* on the opening non-accent and *F* on the accent, perhaps cued by the same opening being used in *Deus deus meus* verse 2, where the phrase also begins 'a' (the two may be seen in parallel in the phrase **2a1** transcription in Appendix 4). This is the only hybrid phrase **2a** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, and it may have arisen and been maintained through the combination of the two text cues.

*Phrase* **2b1** is used when the phrase ends /–/– – (see Example 30).

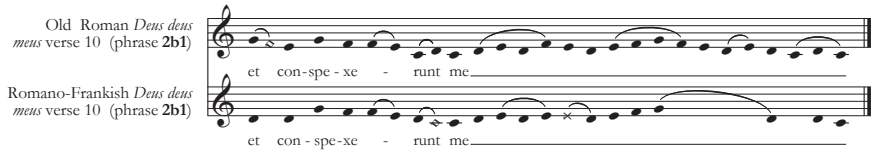
45 *Deus deus meus* verse 9, *Domine audiui* verses 3 and 5, and *Qui habitat* verses 5, 6 (the three syllables 'per diem' are insufficient in the Old Roman tradition to differentiate between phrases **2a1** and **2a2**, but the two traditions are equivalent. The phrase is placed with phrase **2a2** in Appendix 4, as are the short phrase **2a**s in *Deus deus meus* verses 3 and 11), 9, and 12.

46 The Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **X** to open the verse (on which, see pp. 69–71).

47 The Old Roman tradition has phrase **2b4** here, with a different treatment of the accent pattern: see p. 65.

48 The Old Roman equivalent to phrase **2a3** is phrase **2b3**, on which see p. 54.

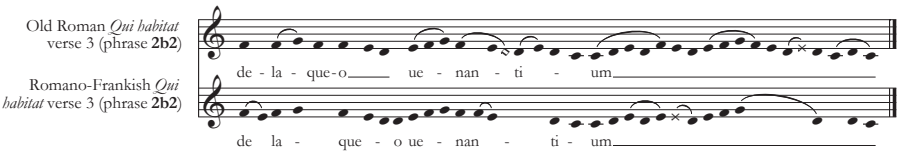
49 This occurs in manuscripts such as *Bis2*, *Den1*, *Eli*, *Noy1*, *Vaa1*, *Vec1* and *Vin2*; see *CR*, 49. The Bosworth Psalter places explicit accents over 'dé té' (very rarely for this manuscript).




EXAMPLE 30

This phrase is used in both traditions on three occasions.[50] It is used in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Deus deus meus* verse 3 ('per diem nec exaudies'), where the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **2a2** on 'per diem' and phrase **2b4** on 'nec exaudies',[51] and in the Old Roman tradition in *Qui habitat* verse 2, on 'susceptor meus es'.[52] In the Old Roman tradition, there are three phrases with only four syllables, accented –/– – .[53] Each might, in theory, belong with either phrase **2b1** or phrase **2b2**, but phrase **2b1** appears to be the default in such contexts.

*Phrase* **2b2** is used when the phrase ends – – –/– – (see Example 31).




EXAMPLE 31

This phrase is used in both traditions on four occasions,[54] and also in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Domine audiui* verse 4 ('a libano ueniet') and *Qui habitat* verse 6 ('in tenebris').[55] In *Domine exaudi* verse 2 ('faciem tuám a me'), the accents are treated enclitically and it therefore uses phrase **2b2**.[56] In the Romano-Frankish version, '-am' is given the pitches *FFE*, which are associated with the final accent in phrase **2b2**. The preceding syllable, 'tu-', would usually be accented, and in the Romano-Frankish tradition it includes the pitches *EG*, which are associated with the main accent in phrase **2a3** (see Example 32). The Romano-Frankish melody therefore musically accents both 'tu-' and '-am'. The same occurs in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Domine audiui* verse 2 (treated as 'cógnósceris') and *Domine exaudi* verse 3 (treated as 'inuocáuéro te'), but on this occasion a unique

50 *Deus deus meus* verses 4, 6 and 10.

51 On the different text break up in the two traditions, see p. 31. The phrase **2a** on 'per diem' has too little text to differentiate between phrase **2a1** and **2a2**; I have placed it with phrase **2a2** in Appendix 4.

52 Here, the Romano-Frankish version treats the accent differently, having phrase **2a1**: see pp. 51 and 73.

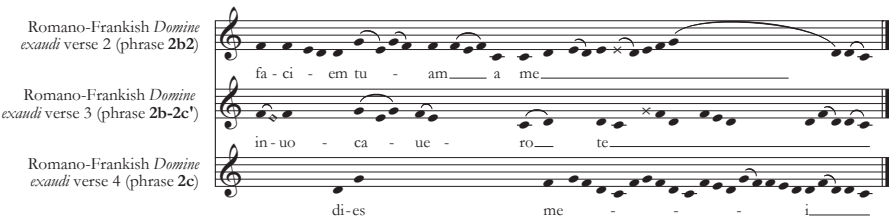
53 *Domine audiui* verse 2 ('cognósceris': *CR*, 197, explains that '-e-' sometimes gets shortened in future verb forms, as here), verse 4 ('-no véniet') and *Qui habitat* verse 6 ('in ténebris').

54 *Domine audiui* verse 1, *Domine exaudi* verse 2, and *Qui habitat* verses 1 and 3.

55 On each of these occasions, the Old Roman version has phrase **2b1**, the default choice when there is only one accent.

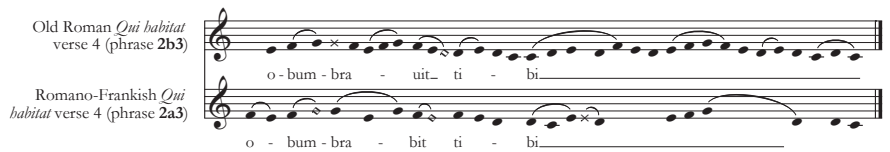
56 *CR*, 196.

cadence, related to phrase **2c**, is used (see Example 32).[57] The Old Roman phrases in *Domine exaudi* verses 3 and 6 also use phrase **2b**, as can be seen in the example for phrase **2b2** in Appendix 4.[58]




EXAMPLE 32

*Phrase* **2b3** is found only in the Old Roman tradition. It parallels phrase **2a3** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, differing only in the choice of cadence. This is presumably because where the Romano-Frankish tradition used the phrase **2a** cadence for 'obumbrauit tíbi' (*Qui habitat* verse 4), and then used the same cadence for 'mandauit té' (*Qui habitat* verse 8), despite the accent pattern being wrong (except in a handful of manuscripts whose melodic outline indicates that 'de' was treated as an accent, see p. 52), the Old Roman tradition used the phrase **2b** cadence for 'mandauit de té' and then used the same cadence for 'obumbrauit tíbi', against the accent pattern. Otherwise, the two traditions are equivalent in these two phrases (see Example 33).




EXAMPLE 33

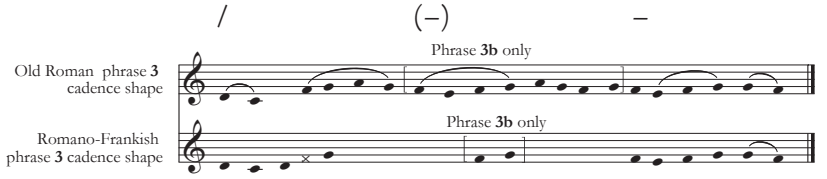
## *Phrases* 3a *and* 3b

The third phrase in the verse is almost entirely uniform, and the relationship between the traditions is very close.[59] The melodic outline before the final accent is entirely dictated by the accent pattern, as discussed on p. 38. Phrase **3a** is used when the text ends /–; phrase **3b** is used when the text ends /– –. Extra notes are inserted into phrase **3b** for the penultimate (unaccented) syllable (see Example 34); the two phrases otherwise work on exactly the same principles.

57 Karp labels it $C_{32}$ (*AOFGC*, 113), but this does not show the nature of the phrase.

58 The melodic shapes for these few syllables would in fact be compatible with any of phrases **2b1**, **2b2**, **2b3** or **2b4**.

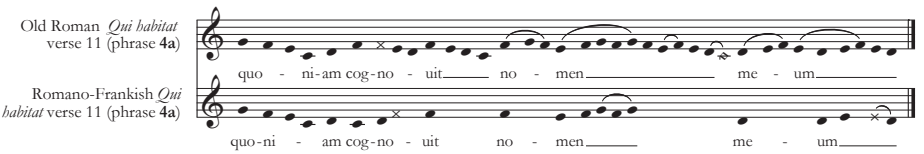
59 Schmidt, 'De Tractus des Zweiten Tones', 287, 293; *AOFGC*, 36–7.




EXAMPLE 34

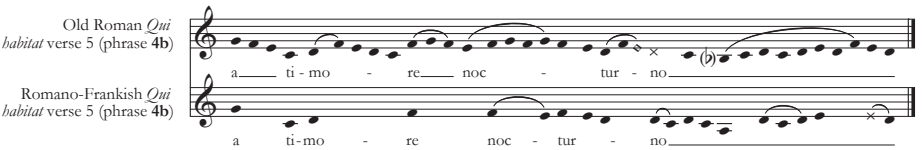
### *Phrases* 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d *and* 4e

*Phrase* **4a** is associated with phrases ending /–/– (see Example 35). It is used in both traditions on four occasions.[60] Phrase **4a** is also used in the Old Roman tradition in *Qui habitat* verse 6 on 'et demonio merídiáno', where the Romano-Frankish tradition has the phrase **4a** opening followed by phrase Z (see pp. 90–1). It is used in several other Old Roman phrases where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **4b**,[61] and in several phrases in one tradition where the other has phrase **4c**.[62]




EXAMPLE 35

*Phrase* **4b** has a lower cadence and is associated with phrases ending /– –/– (Example 36).[63]




EXAMPLE 36

Phrase **4b** is used in both traditions only once, in *Qui habitat* verse 5. The phrase shapes **4a** and **4b** are differentiated only by their cadence in the Old Roman tradition. Either the Old Roman tradition has largely lost the distinction between the phrases, or the Romano-Frankish tradition has expanded a single exception into a

60 *Qui habitat* verses 8, 9 and 11. Phrase **4a** is used for the last two syllables of *Qui habitat* verse 3 ('(et a uerbo as)pero'), following *comma* **X**.

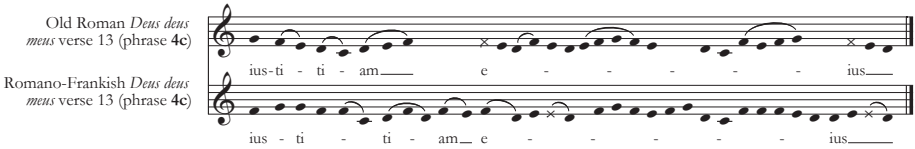
61 Listed on p. 56, n. 65.

62 Listed on p. 56.

63 Karp writes that phrase **4b** is slightly preferred to **4a** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, but without addressing the circumstances under which each is used: see *AOFGC*, 117.

rule.[64] The Old Roman tradition uses phrase **4a** and the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **4b** on seven occasions.[65]

*Phrase* **4c** has a longer melisma than phrases **4a** and **4b** (see Example 37).




EXAMPLE 37

Phrase **4c** is associated in *Deus deus meus* in both traditions with texts ending with a noun and possessive pronoun together with the accent pattern /– –/–.[66] The Old Roman tradition also uses the phrase for the pattern noun plus possessive pronoun with /-/- accent,[67] and for the pattern verb plus possessive pronoun with /-/- accent,[68] where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **4a**. Both traditions use phrase **4a** rather than **4c** in *Qui habitat* on the noun plus possessive pronoun /-/- texts,[69] but both use phrase **4c** on the only other possessive pronoun ending in *Qui habitat*,[70] which has the /– –/– accent pattern and a possessive pronoun ending.

Clearly, phrase **4c** was generally associated with possessive pronouns, but the precise circumstances under which its use was considered appropriate were somewhat fluid at least at some point: only after a noun, or also after a verb; only in the context /– –/–, or also in the context /–/–. It is worth noting that neither tradition uses phrase **4c** in *Deus deus meus* verse 9 after the verb plus possessive pronoun 'quoniam vult eum', which ends with neither the accent pattern /–/– nor /– –/–. Other uses of the full phrase,[71] or of the cadence *FED DEED*,[72] are stimulated by text cues or, I would argue, by the desire to connect ideas from different verses.

64 Karp holds the latter view, hypothesising that the single occurrence in the Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 5 'suggests a specific relationship to the Gregorian equivalent': see *AOFGC*, 330.

65 *Deus deus meus* verses 6, 7, 8 and 9 (this has the text 'quoniam vult eum' whose accent pattern is not the usual one for either phrase **4a** or **4b**, but as the fourth verse in a row to end with the same phrase, the associative cue is clear), and in *Qui habitat* verse 7 as well as *Deus deus meus* verse 10 (on 'et super uestem meam miserunt sortem'), where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses the high opening associated with phrase **4d**, because of the amount of text available. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, *Qui habitat* verse 10 has phrase **4b'** on 'leonem' where the Old Roman tradition has phrase **Z** (discussed in Chapter 4, p. 91).

66 It occurs in verses 2 ('delictorum meorum') and 13 ('iustitiam eius'), although the Old Roman tradition begins with phrase **1a** material on 'delictorum', as discussed on p. 97.

67 *Deus deus meus* verse 11, 'humilitatem meam'.

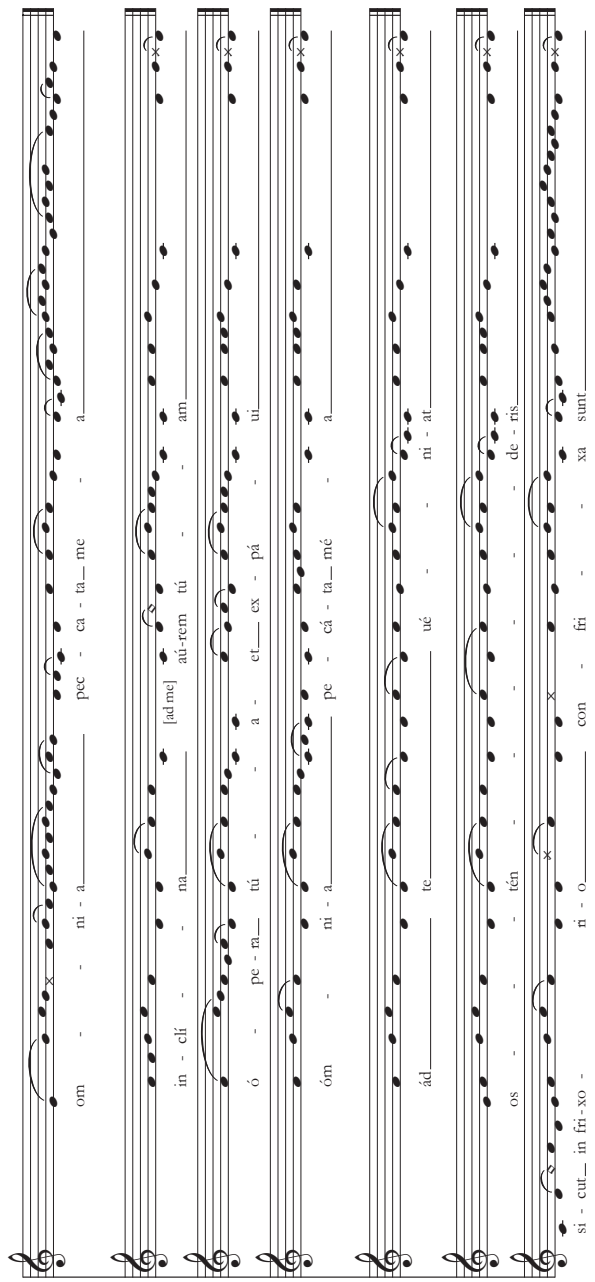
68 *Deus deus meus* verse 5, 'liberasti eos' and verse 12, 'magnificate eum'.

69 Verses 8 ('uiis tius'), 9 ('pedem tuum') and 11 ('quoniam cognouit nomen meum').

70 Verse 2 ('sperabo in eum').

71 Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 12, where the Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **4a**.

72 Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 1 (Karp writes that this phrase can be viewed as comprised of elements drawn from the framing portions of **4c**: see *AOFGC*, 328), verse 3 and verse 10, and *Qui habitat* verse 4; on all of these occasions the Old Roman tradition has phrase **4a**.


Old Roman *De necessitatibus* verse 1 (phrase **4d-f**)
om - - ni - a pec - ca - ta me - a
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 2 (phrase **4d**)
in - cli - - na [ad me] au-rem tú - - am
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 1 (phrase **4d**)
ó - pe - ma tú - - a - et ex - pá - ui
Romano-Frankish *De necessitatibus* verse 1 (phrase **4d**)
óm - - ni - a pe - cá - ta mé - a
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 1 (phrase **4e**)
ád te ué - - - ni - at
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 2 (phrase **4e**)
os - - - tén - - - - - de - ris
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4 (phrase **4e-f**)
si - cut in frí - xo - ri - o con - fri - - - xa sunt

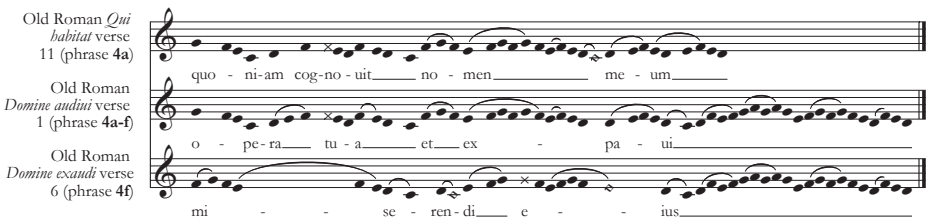
EXAMPLE 38

These uses will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Because of its use in the second verses of *Deus deus meus*, *Qui habitat* and the early-ninth-century Frankish *Eripe me*, one might associate this phrase with verse 2 of second-mode tracts,[73] but this would not account for all its appearances.

*Phrase* **4d** is found in the Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 1, *Domine exaudi* verse 2,[74] and in the first verse of the related gradual, *De necessitatibus* (see Example 38). There is no association in this phrase of specific melodic shapes with accented or unaccented syllables, as the scattering of accents in Example 38 illustrates. The same phrase shape is found in the Old Roman *De necessitatibus* verse 1, except that here the final melisma is that familiar from phrase **4f**, the final phrase of a second-mode tract.[75] All three phrases end with the accent pattern /–.

*Phrase* **4e** is used in the Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 1 and *Domine audiui* verse 2, which end with the accent pattern /– –. The opening and cadence of phrase **4e** are identical to those of phrase **4d**, but the central portion of the phrase differs significantly. In phrase **4e**, the final accent has, or incorporates, the pattern *EFGFG*, associated with the antepenultimate (but unaccented) syllable in phrase **4a**. The Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4 has the shapes associated with phrase **4e** until the final melisma, which is the phrase **4f** melisma.[76]

In the Old Roman tradition, the final phrase of every verse of *Domine audiui* and of *Domine exaudi* verses 1 to 5 is constructed on exactly the same principles as phrase **4a** until the final accent, at which point there is an extra pitch at the end of the accent (*DEFE* rather than *DEF*) and then the final melisma of phrase **4f** rather than that of phrase **4a** (see Example 39), which may have acted as a signal for the responsorial performance of the chants.[77]




EXAMPLE 39

The same occurs in *Deus deus meus* verse 14, where 'qui nascetur quem' begins as phrase **4a** in the Old Roman tradition and continues as phrase **4f**. The Romano-Frankish shape mirrors this opening recitation, suggesting that it was probably present in the tradition adopted by the Franks (see Example 40).[78]

73 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 17; *AOFGC*, 117.

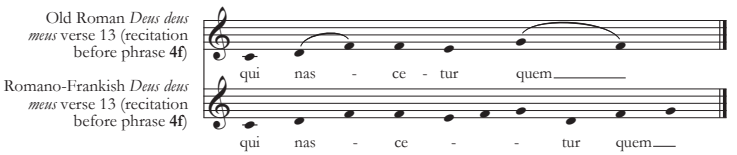
74 With the interpolation of the phrase **2b** cadence on 'ad me' in the centre of the phrase following a text cue; see p. 76.

75 Phrase **4f** is shown in Example 44 on p. 63.

76 A similar hybrid phrase, **4f–a–f**, is found in the Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 4 and *Domine exaudi* verse 5 (see Example 5 on p. 22).

77 Se pp. 120–7.

78 Karp, *AOFGC*, 116 labels 'qui nascetur' as $F_{32}$ but it is not a separate phrase.




EXAMPLE 40

It is possible that the Old Roman version of these phrases is closer to the original form, although the extreme stereotyping makes this seem less likely. It is more probable that the default phrase shapes for these chants were originally akin to phrases **4d** and **4e**, and the original phrase **4d** shape (without final melisma) has been retained in the Old Roman tradition only in the related gradual *De necessitatibus*. In the Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4, the phrase **4f** melisma may have been introduced at the end of phrase **4e** as a cue for the responsorial performance of the chant; in the Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 5 and *Domine audiui* verse 4, the process of progressive stereotyping towards phrase **4f** is considerably further advanced. The presence of the *syllaba* (*F*)*EFGFG* on the ante-penultimate syllables of both phrases **4e** and **4a** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, despite the different accentual context, lends weight to the idea that the Old Roman tradition has assimilated phrases **4d** and **4e** into phrase **4a**, with which there was originally shared melodic material. This is given further support by the Old Roman figure on '(omni)a' in the related gradual *De necessitatibus* (shown in Example 38 on p. 57) which is very close to the figure found in the Old Roman phrase **4a** on the syllable before the last accent (shown in Example 39), and may be a remnant of the same process.

As the above discussion has demonstrated, there are two different nexuses of phrases associated with the ends of verses, one primarily for the long second-mode tracts, *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* (phrases **4a**, **4b** and **4c**),[79] and the other for the short tracts, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi* (phrases **4d**, **4e**, **4a–f**, **4d–f**, **4e–f**, and **4f–a–f**). The two pairs of chants are constructed on different principles at the ends of verses. While it is possible that the different procedures followed in these chants have chronological implications,[80] it is equally possible that the use of phrase **4f** material in so many verses of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* relates to their performance practice, and that the distinction may be between responsorial and *in directum* chants rather than between older and newer ones (see pp. 120–7).

## Phrases associated with particular verses

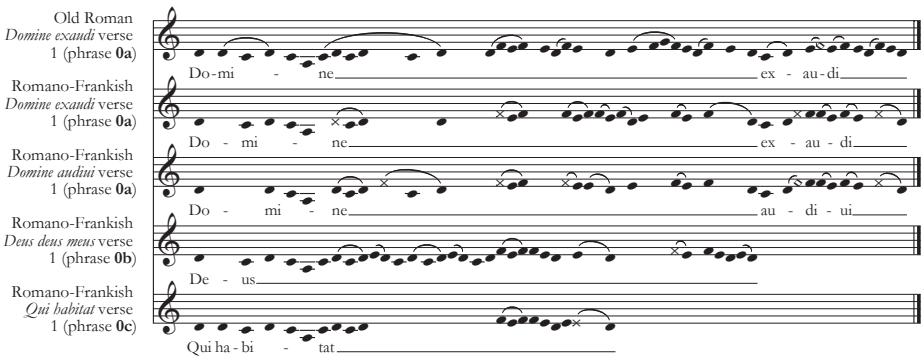
### *Phrase* **0**

The first verse of each second-mode tract uses a phrase shape not found elsewhere in the chants. This is labelled as phrase **0** in my analysis (see Example 41), and it

79 Karp and Schmidt both assert that phrases **4a** and **4b** are the usual forms: see *AOFGC*, 327–8; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 133–4.

80 *AOFGC*, 103.

is equivalent in the two traditions. Phrase **0** is treated identically in the four Old Roman second-mode tracts.[81] In the Romano-Frankish tradition, all four chants begin with the same *D-A* fall, but after this there is more divergence, although each version has a *CD* oscillation, a *DF* oscillation, and a cadence on *D*.[82]




EXAMPLE 41

The Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* closely parallel the Old Roman tradition, as Example 41 shows; I have labelled this phrase shape **0a**.[83] *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* do not have the same melisma: *Deus deus meus* has a distinctive oscillating shape which became the model for the opening of most later second-mode tracts (phrase **0b**), and its growing role as the default second-mode tract opening is reflected in its use in *Iri* in *Domine audiui*;[84] *Qui habitat* uses a portion of the *Deus deus meus* melisma (phrase **0c**).[85] Either more variety has

81 *Qui habitat* begins *A CD* rather than *D*, having four instead of three syllables to fit in, and *Deus deus meus* misses out the *DCDCA* figure because it has only two syllables. These are simply different realisations of the same musical structure demanded by the different textual circumstances.

82 *AOFGC*, 320–3; Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 358–9; Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 53.

83 Karp argues that the opening phrases of the Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui*, *Domine exaudi* and the related gradual *De necessitatibus* are closely related to a group of second-mode responsories (see *AOFGC*, 85–93). While the opening gesture – the fall to *A* and the *CD* oscillation – is clearly comparable in the two genres, I remain unconvinced by Karp's attempt to find a closer melodic and causal relationship between the two. It is hardly exceptional for a second-mode chant to begin phrases with the gesture *CDF* (Karp's formula c1; *AOFGC*, 89). The different ordering of the cadential pitches in the two genres necessitates an analytical reordering of material to show the relationship, which greatly weakens any suggestion of a conscious parallelism in the melodic outlines of the two groups of chants (according to ch. 8 of David Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions* (Oxford, 1995), oral traditions tend to rely on serial recall). Furthermore, after the opening gesture, Karp's parallels consist of isolated gestures plucked from different responsories, consisting of typical second-mode patterns and very common cadences. His second-mode tract formula a1 is closer to formula a3 in the introit *Vultum tuum*, with its repeated *F*s, than to formula a2 in the responsory *Reges tharsis*, which occupies the same tonal space (see *AOFGC*, 88). The characteristic high beginning of 'me-' in *De necessitatibus* (Karp's formula c3; *AOFGC*, 89) is not found in any responsories; *Bonum michi* shares only the *FEC* gesture.

84 On the use of this phrase shape in later tracts, see p. 164 and *AOFGC*, 114.

85 Karp claims that this phrase is closer to *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* than to *Deus deus meus*. This is true if one thinks in terms of melodic skeletons, but if one thinks primarily in terms of

become incorporated into the Romano-Frankish openings, or the Old Roman tradition has become more standardised over time.

### *Phrase* **1c**

The second verse of the Romano-Frankish tracts usually begins with phrase **1c**, the only exception being *Qui habitat* verse 2, where the text cue to use phrase **1d** on 'Dicet domino' may have overridden the formal cue to use phrase **1c**.[86] This phrase is also widely and exclusively associated with the second verses of the new second-mode tracts.[87] Phrase **1c** is more decorated than phrase **1a**, **1b** or **1d**, and would therefore be both distinctive and memorable as an exception to the usual melodic flow. There is a high level of ornamentation within the melisma, which has a sequential form (see Example 42).

The ornamentation of this phrase varies from manuscript to manuscript, and even within a single manuscript on different occurrences of the phrase. *Fle1* demonstrates this particularly well, having so many second-mode tracts (see Example 42). In this manuscript, phrase **1c** has three ornaments on two occasions, four ornaments on two occasions, five ornaments twice (including an ornament on the last figure before the cadence), two ornaments once and, in *Dixit dominus* verse 2, the highest note in each of the first two five-note figures is ornamented rather than the repeated one, and the third five-note figure has the repeated note ornamented, as is the usual practice. Within this context, there was a considerable degree of performative freedom in the Romano-Frankish tradition.[88] This phrase specific to second verses is not present in the Old Roman manuscripts.

### *Phrase* **3c**

In the Romano-Frankish tradition, phrase **3c** is associated with the final verse of a second-mode tract. The melisma rises higher than that of phrases **3a** and **3b** and would act as a signal that the chant was about to end (see Example 43).

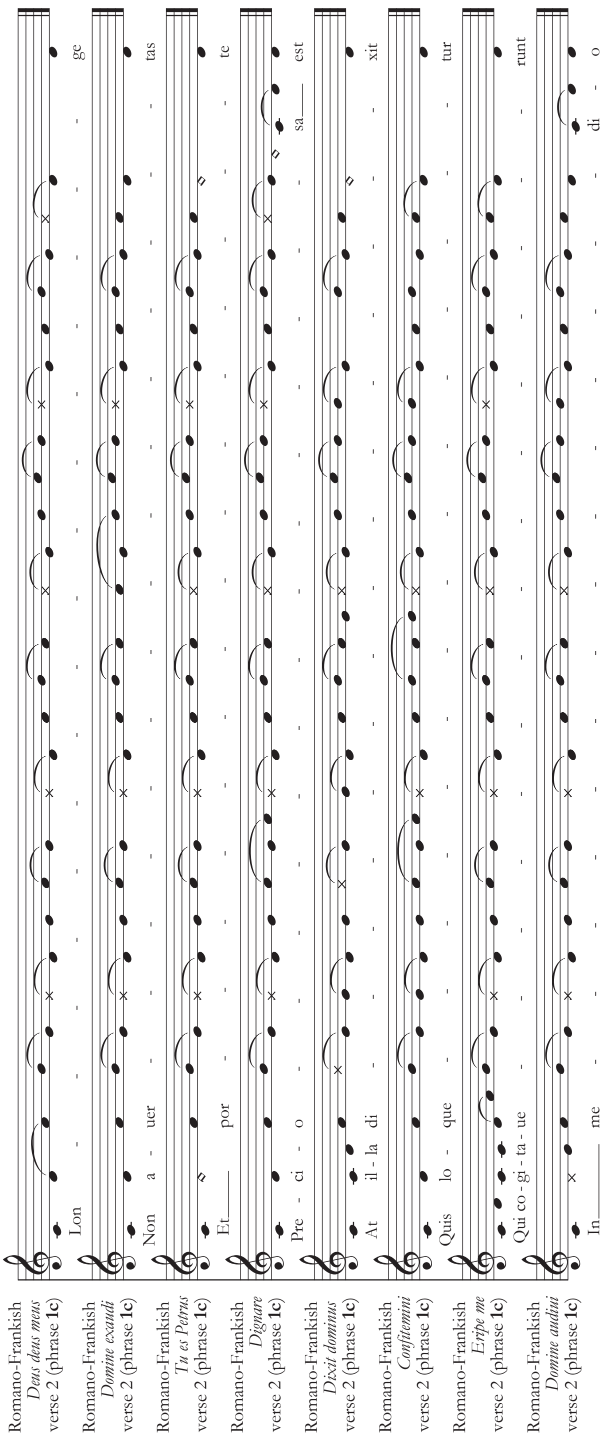
Phrase **3c** is used in the last verse of *Qui habitat*, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi*. It is used in verse 13 of *Deus deus meus* and, although there is a further verse at 'Populo' (on which see pp. 25–6), the final verse consists only of two phrases in the first of which the usual verse-position cues are not followed. Verse 13 is therefore the last opportunity for use of phrase **3c**.

gesture, then the phrase shape is closer to the opening of phrase **0b**: see *AOFGC*, 114–15.

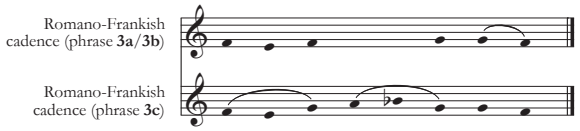
86 While Schmidt observes the existence of the two Romano-Frankish phrases **1a** and **1c**, asserting that one can see this as the development of two melismas from one form, he does not explicitly recognise the association of phrase **1c** with the second verse of tracts: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 292–3.

87 See *AOFGC*, 118.

88 For further exploration of the role of ornamental choice within a given pitch outline in Romano-Frankish chant, see Óscar Mascareñas's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation from the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick.


Romano-Frankish
*Deus deus meus*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Lon - ge
Romano-Frankish
*Domine exaudi*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Non a - uer - tas
Romano-Frankish
*Tu es Petrus*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Et___ por - te
Romano-Frankish
*Dignare*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Pre - ci - o - sa___ est
Romano-Frankish
*Dixit dominus*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
At il - la di - xit
Romano-Frankish
*Confitemini*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Quis lo - que - tur
Romano-Frankish
*Eripe me*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
Qui co - gi - ta - ue - runt
Romano-Frankish
*Domine audiui*
verse 2 (phrase **1c**)
In___ me - di - o

EXAMPLE 42

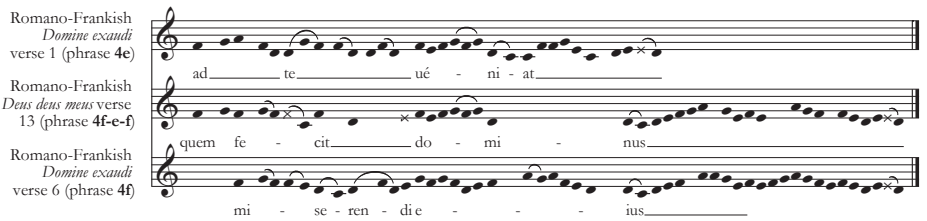



EXAMPLE 43

The phrase is also used in the first verse of *Domine exaudi* and in all but verse 3 of *Domine audiui* in most manuscripts. While this may have chronological significance,[89] I consider instead that the use of this phrase in earlier verses relates either to the responsorial performance of the chant (see pp. 125–6), or to the differences between the tract text and the Vulgate (see pp. 20–1).

### *Phrase* 4f

Phrase **4f**, as is widely recognised, is associated with the final verses of second-mode tracts, and is also used in a group of Old Roman graduals as a marker of the end of the chant.[90] There are exceptions, however: *Orp* has a florid end in *Qui habitat* and the related gradual *De necessitatibus*, and *Domine audiui* and *Deus deus meus* close in all three Old Roman manuscripts with the **4a–f** hybrid used in the other verses of *Domine audiui*.[91] In the Romano-Frankish tradition, phrase **4f** closes *Qui habitat*, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi*, but *Deus deus meus* uses a hybrid phrase **4f–e–f** (see Example 44). This is because it is not possible to attach the accent pattern /– – at the end to the usual closing shapes of phrase **4f**; the same *FEFGFG* pattern is used for the last accent as in phrase **4e**; this is also probably the reason why **4a–f** is used in the Old Roman tradition at this point. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, *Domine audiui* verse 3 uses phrase **4f**.




EXAMPLE 44

89 *AOFGC*, 115–16.

90 It is used at the end of the Old Roman graduals *Si ambulem*, *Gloriosus deus*, *Timete dominum*, *Os iusti*, and in a varied form in *Universi qui te expectant*. This parallel is not found in the Romano-Frankish tradition: see Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 117.

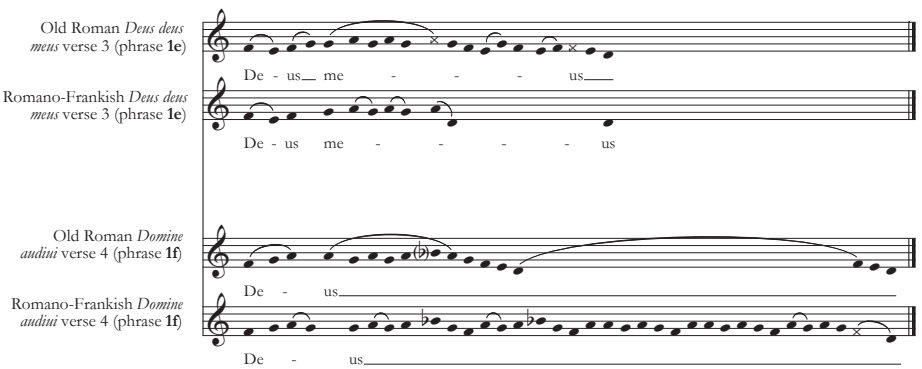
91 Karp writes that all three Old Roman Graduals use phrase **4f** at the end of all the second-mode tracts: see *AOFGC*, 323.

## Emphatic formulaic phrases

Several phrases used within the second-mode tracts are distinguished from the standard formulaic phrases in melodic density or tessitura, or by employing large leaps. Use of one of these phrases rather than the one expected for the formal context and the accent pattern serves as a way of highlighting the text, of focusing the listeners' attention on it.[92] As the discussion in Chapter 4 shows, use of these phrases moves the second-mode tracts beyond a reading of the text which communicates its sense to a reading of the text which conveys an interpretation of its most important words and ideas.

### *Phrases* **1e** *and* **1f**

These phrases appear at the beginnings of verses. They are not based on the same phrase shape as phrases **1a**, **1b**, **1c** and **1d**, instead using oscillating figures around *G* (Example 45).[93]




EXAMPLE 45

Phrase **1e** has a high three-fold oscillation before falling to *D*, achieved by step in the Old Roman tradition but by leap in the Romano-Frankish tradition (as is characteristic of each melodic dialect).[94] While phrases **1a**, **1b** and **1c** also rise this high in both traditions, phrases **1a** and **1c** visit the high *a* only once and phrase **1b** only twice (and some way apart – there is no oscillation here). None of these phrase shapes fall by such a large interval as phrase **1e**.

92 See Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 3, which borrows the term 'markedness' from Robert Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, Interpretation* (Bloomington, 1994), 34–9.

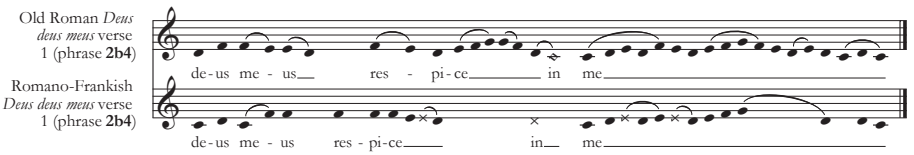
93 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 60.

94 Phrase **1e** is used in *Deus deus meus* verse 3 and *Qui habitat* verse 6 in both traditions. Karp does not identify it as a separate phrase, instead considering the pitches to be recitation leading into a structural *D* cadence on 'clamabo' and 'uolante', respectively. This is incompatible with my interpretation (for syntactical reasons across four tract verses) of this *D*-cadence as being *comma* * – that is, not an independent musical phrase (see pp. 69–71).

The Romano-Frankish phrase **1f** has an ornate melisma, rising as high as *b*♭ twice,[95] and with two six-note elements which are each repeated. It might be interpreted as an extended version of phrase **1e**, since it uses similar oscillations in a similar range.[96] The Old Roman phrase also rises to *b*♭ but is much shorter. In both traditions, however, the extreme of range emphasises the texts using the phrase.[97] Phrase **1f** is used in both traditions twice,[98] as well as in the Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 7, where the Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **Z**.[99]

### *Phrase* 2b4

This phrase appears in both traditions in *Deus deus meus* verse 1, treated enclitically as 'deus meus respicé in me' (see Example 46).[100] The Romano-Frankish *CD CF* rise does not usually begin phrase **2** in the second-mode tracts and it therefore stands out. In the Old Roman tradition, the recitation is differentiated in an alternative way: the highest pitch (G) is encountered on the final accent rather than on the syllable preceding it, unlike the other versions of phrase **2b**. The phrase is also used in the Old Roman tradition in *Deus deus meus* verse 3, and the purpose seems to be to link the two portions of text (see p. 97). The Old Roman phrase is also used in *Domine exaudi* verse 5 ('et aruit cór meum'), where the figure including the pitch G lends special emphasis to the important word (and accent) 'cór' rather than treating the text as having a penultimate accent ('méum') with the usual phrase **2a2**, as occurs in the Romano-Frankish tradition.




EXAMPLE 46[101]

95 Only intermittently notated with an explicit fa sign in pitched manuscripts.

96 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 289, gives a comparative example claiming that 'Deus meus' (phrase **1e**) uses the key notes of 'Libera me' (phrase **1f**).

97 *AOFGC*, 437 (note 33) reminds us of the appearance of this phrase in an alleluia verse in several Aquitanian manuscripts. It was identified as a characteristically Aquitanian melisma by Charlotte Roederer, 'Can we identify an Aquitanian chant style?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974), 75–99: 98, but Treitler pointed out that it is in fact a centonised adoption of the characteristic second-mode tract melisma ('"Centonate Chant": Übles Flickwerk or *E pluribus unus?*', 22).

98 *Deus deus meus* verse 11 and *Domine audiui* verse 4.

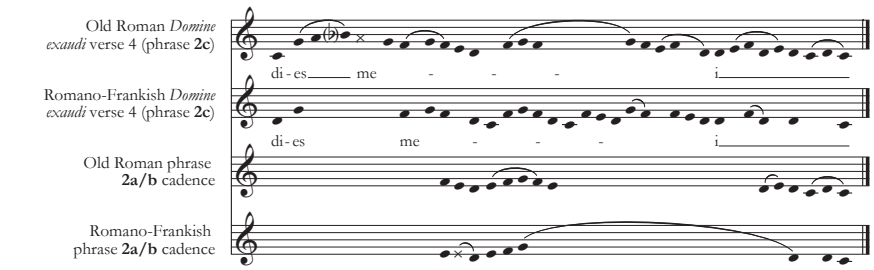
99 On this see pp. 66–7.

100 On this enclitic accent, see *CR*, 196.

101 The *EFGGF* figure on the final accent is found only in *Orc*. *Orj* and *Orp* both have *EFGF* instead.

### *Phrase* 2c

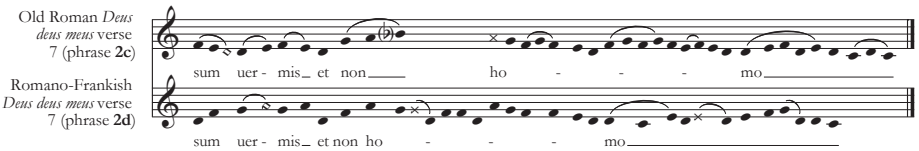
This phrase has a much more decorated melisma than phrases **2a** and **2b** (see Example 47). The Romano-Frankish tradition has a repeated figure *FGFDC* and the Old Roman version has a cascade of falling figures. Both traditions use the whole range C-G (and the Old Roman phrase **2c** rises as high as *b*♭), while the phrase **2a** and **2b** melismas are focused on *D* and *F* with *G* used just once and *C* only used cadentially. The differences in tonal space and decorative gesture make this phrase stand apart from the usual phrase 2s. The occasions on which it is used are discussed in Chapter 4.




EXAMPLE 47

### *Phrase* 2d

The Romano-Frankish tradition has a further phrase shape used before the half-verse caesura, phrase **2d**, found three times (see Example 48).[102]




EXAMPLE 48

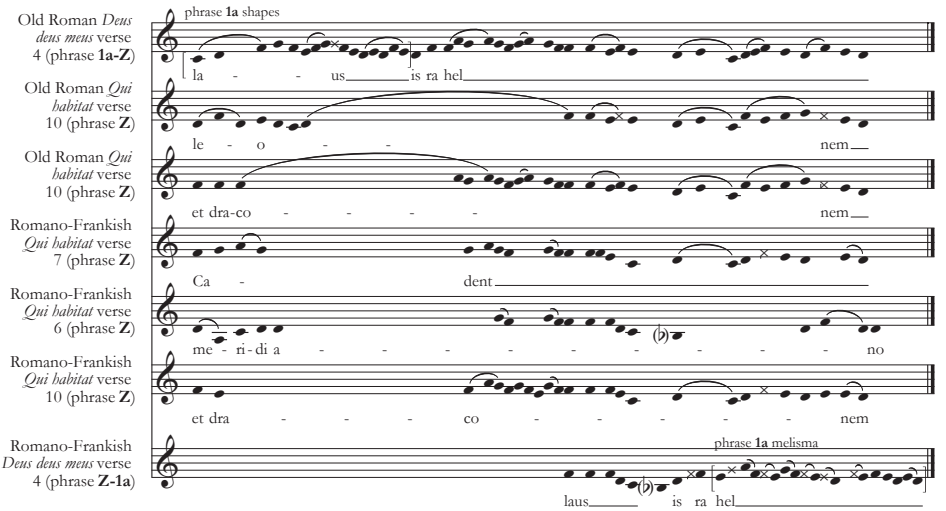
This shape goes higher than any other Romano-Frankish phrase 2. The stepwise fall from the high point, *a*, to *D* is similar to that found within the Old Roman phrase **2c** melisma. Either the two phrases have coalesced into a single emphatic phrase 2 in the Old Roman tradition or, in the Romano-Frankish tradition, a single emphatic phrase type has split into two distinct phrase shapes.

### *Phrase* Z

This is an ornate phrase (see Example 49), used in both traditions at the end of *Qui habitat* verse 10 on 'et draconem' ('the serpent'), and in the Old Roman tradition

102 *Deus deus meus* verses 7, 8 and 11.

on the preceding 'leonem' ('the lion'). It is used in the Romano-Frankish tradition on 'Cadent' at the beginning of *Qui habitat* verse 7. Elements of the phrase (different in the two traditions) are also used in *Deus deus meus* verse 4 on 'laus israhel', and in the Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 14 on 'Populo'. At the end of the Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 6, '(et demonio) meridiano' begins with the fall to *A* characteristic of tract openings and then has a melisma related to phrase Z. Although the fall to *A* and the falling-third cadence are not found in other instances of the phrase in the second-mode tracts, they are characteristic of the phrase as it appears in the Offertory *Anima nostra*, and 'meridiano' is certainly part of the same formulaic nexus (for comparative examples, and discussion of the use of this emphatic phrase beyond the second-mode tracts, see pp. 91–5). Because the phrase is used both at the beginning and at the end of verses, I have not labelled it phrase 1 or 4, but phrase Z, which reflects its lack of clear formal function.



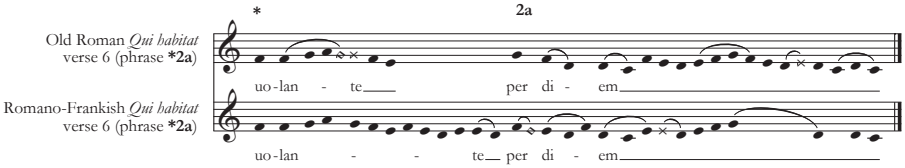

EXAMPLE 49

## The *commata* of the second-mode tracts

Other emphasis in the second-mode tracts is achieved by use of *commata*. These melodic shapes appear on more than one occasion in the genre but, unlike the formulaic phrases discussed above (with the exception of phrase Z), they often do not have clear structural connotations, being used in a variety of contexts. Some of these shapes are not cadential, instead proceeding directly into standard phrases. Simply by virtue of transcending the usual formulaic shapes, they have the potential to emphasise text or to link texts within a chant where they are used.

*Comma* *

This shape is always used in order to emphasise important words, or to create a link between the texts of two different verses within a chant. It is found in both traditions on three occasions.[103] The Old Roman version mirrors the Frankish version, but has no cadence before the continuation into phrase **2** (see Example 50).




EXAMPLE 50

On four occasions, *comma* * appears in one tradition while the other has the opening of phrase **2** and, on two of these, *comma* * is attached to an incomplete word, continuing straight into phrase **2**.[104] This suggests, along with the lack of a cadence in the Old Roman version, that *comma* * appears in certain contexts at the beginning of phrase **2** rather than being an independent phrase equivalent in function to phrase **1g**.[105] This is supported by the fact that the only occasion where this *comma* is used in one tradition (the Old Roman) while phrase **1g** is used in the other (the Romano-Frankish) is *Domine exaudi* verse 6, where the Romano-Frankish treatment of the text is apparently rhetorically motivated (see pp. 106–7). Interpretation of *comma* * as an opening to phrase **2** is confirmed by the syntax since, on all occasions, the text associated with *comma* * belongs syntactically with what follows rather than with what precedes it.[106] Identifying the Romano-Frankish cadences on *D* as being extensions of the beginning of the verse would mean that

103 *Deus deus meus* verse 3 and *Qui habitat* verses 6 and 7.

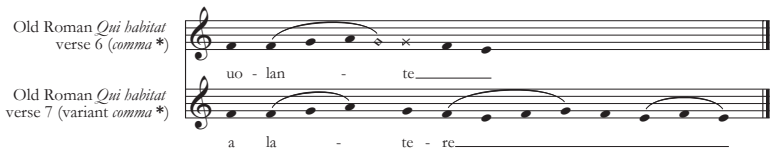
104 The Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 12 uses *comma* * where the Old Roman tradition simply uses phrase **2**. *Comma* * is used in the Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 4 ('a liba-'), *Domine exaudi* verse 3 ('inuocaue-') and *Deus deus meus* verse 13, where the Romano-Frankish tradition has a usual phrase **2** recitation. The tables in *AOFGC*, 341–3, do not make this visually clear, and Karp does not comment on it.

105 Schmidt identified phrase **1g** as the primary *Flexenformel* of the second-mode tract verse, but he also identified *comma* * with this formal position; the layout of Karp's analytical tables indicates that he also considers a second Romano-Frankish phrase to consist of verse opening material (he identifies it as $D_{12}$): see *AOFGC*, 113 and 116.

106 In *Qui habitat* verse 6, 'A sagitta uolante per diem' consists of a prepositional phrase ('A sagitta') and adjectival phrase ('uolante per diem'). 'uolante' belongs with 'per diem'. In *Deus deus meus* verse 3, 'Deus meus clamabo per diem' consists of a vocative ('deus meus'), a verb ('clamabo') and a prepositional phrase ('per diem'). The verb and prepositional phrase belong together syntactically. In *Qui habitat* verse 12, 'Inuocauit me et ego exaudiam eum' consists of two separate clauses; 'et ego' begins the second clause rather than belonging with the first. In *Qui habitat* verse 7, 'Cadent a latere tuo mille' consists of a verb ('cadent'), prepositional phrase ('a latere tuo') and subject ('mille'). 'a latere' belongs with 'tuo' rather than with the preceding verb. In the Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 4 and *Domine exaudi* verse 3 the attachment of *comma* * to an incomplete word is clearly not syntactically complete. In *Deus deus meus* verse 13, 'generatio' is the first part of the subject completed (with phrase **2**) by 'uentura'. In *Domine exaudi* verse 6, 'misereberis sion' belong together as the predicate.

the cantors who instituted and maintained this practice consistently compromised the syntax. I therefore interpret *comma* * as a decorated recitation at the beginning of phrase 2; the relevant phrases are marked *2a1 etc. in my analysis.

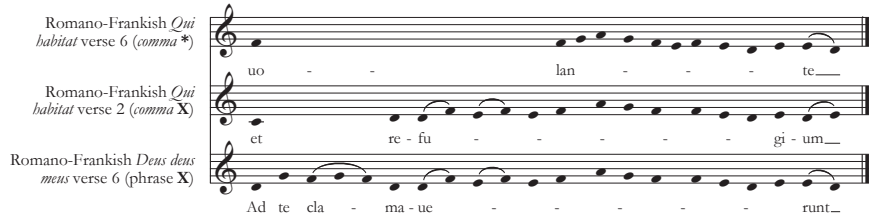
Either the Old Roman tradition has lost an cadence at this point, or the figure was expanded into including a *D* cadence in the Romano-Frankish tradition because of its similarity to other *D* cadences within the genre. Support for the latter possibility is supplied by *Deus deus meus* verse 11, where the Old Roman tradition has the usual *comma* * material opening the prepositional phrase 'de ore (leonis)'. Here the early Frankish manuscripts, and some later manuscripts, have *aGFFED* on '-re' instead of the usual cadential figure.[107] This may reflect more closely than the other examples the original shape of *comma* *. Alternatively, 'de ore' may represent an anticipation of the *aGFFED* figure which precedes the phrase 2d cadence, the phrase which completes the Romano-Frankish 'de ore leonis'. Support for the first possibility, that the Old Roman tradition has lost a cadence at this point, is given by the Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 7, where 'a latere' has a more extended oscillating figure (see Example 51), instead of the usual *comma* * shapes, which might be interpreted as ending on an open *E* cadence of the kind discussed on pp. 45–7.




EXAMPLE 51

## *Phrase* X *and comma* X

A phrase related to *comma* * appears in the Romano-Frankish tradition on four occasions (see Example 52).[108] In *Fle1*, the cadences of *comma* * and phrase/*comma* X




EXAMPLE 52

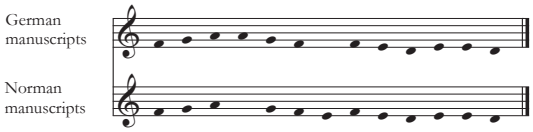
are differentiated. A group of later German manuscripts does not differentiate the cadences, having FGaaGFFEDEED in both contexts.[109] A group of later Norman-connected manuscripts does not differentiate between the two contexts either, having

107 The usual *D*-cadence is found in, for example, *Bre*, *Clu1*, *Crow*, *Dij1*, *Cant2*, *Iri*, *Lav*, *Mog4*, *Pas2*, *Rog1*, *Sab* and *Stm*.

108 *Qui habitat* verses 2 and 13 (twice), and in *Deus deus meus* verse 6.

109 *Klo1*, *Mog4*, *Pas2*, *Stm* (not in *Qui habitat* verse 12), *Tyr*; this shape is also found in *Nov2* in *Deus deus meus* verse 3).

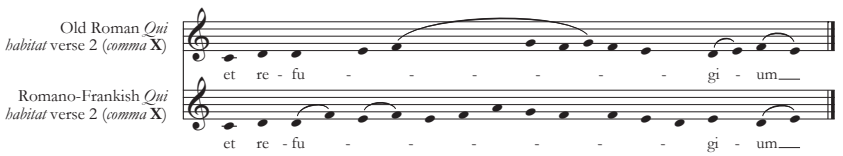
FGaGFEFEDEED in both[110] (see Example 53). The earliest manuscripts confirm that the differentiated cadences were part of the original genre, and the distinction between them was lost later. This material is not limited to one formal context and cannot therefore be labelled as phrase **1**, **2**, **3** or **4**; neither is it a *comma* attached to a particular phrase in the way the material marked * is almost always connected to phrase **2**. It does not always end with a cadence, sometimes functioning as a *comma* and sometimes as an independent phrase. In the latter case I have labelled the material as 'phrase **X**'; in the former, I have labelled it '*comma* **X**'.




EXAMPLE 53

Phrase **X** appears at the beginning of *Deus deus meus* verse 6[111] and *Qui habitat* verse 13.[112] The opening of these two phrases is differentiated from *comma* *, as Example 52 illustrates: they begin with the *FGFD* recitation associated with the beginnings of verses,[113] and *comma* * rises immediately from *F*.

*Comma* **X** is used on two occasions in the Romano-Frankish tradition away from the verse opening. Here the melisma is framed very differently from the verse opening context (*Qui habitat* verse 2 is shown in Example 52). The recitation is *C D DFEF* and instead of a cadence at the end of the phrase there is *DE* recitation continuing into phrase **3** (*Qui habitat* verse 2) or **2a1** (*Qui habitat* verse 13).[114] In neither case is the melisma functioning musically as a verse opening.[115]




EXAMPLE 54

Phrase **X** and *comma* **X** are clearly differentiated both from other verse-opening shapes and from those found later in the verse. The *aGFFED* cascading fall is familiar from phrase **2d** and, as in that phrase, I consider that use of this material emphasised the text to which it was attached.

110 *Crowl*, *Cant2*, *Iri*, *Rog1*, *Bre* and *Dij1*, which uses the microtonal ┤ on *DFEF* and also *aGFE*; the presence of this version in *Bre* suggests that it may have originated in northern Italy and been transmitted via William of Volpiano to Dijon and thence to Normandy, England and Ireland)

111 The Old Roman tradition follows the textual cue of the previous verse 'Ad te clamauerunt' / 'In te sperauerunt' and uses phrase **1d**.

112 The Old Roman tradition has phrase **2** on 'Eripiam eum' because of a textual cue.

113 Schmidt's labelling of the phrase as I–Fl takes this into account: see 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 8.

114 The Old Roman tradition has phrase **4a** recitation on 'longitudinem' in *Qui habitat* verse 13 and is not equivalent to the Romano-Frankish tradition at this point.

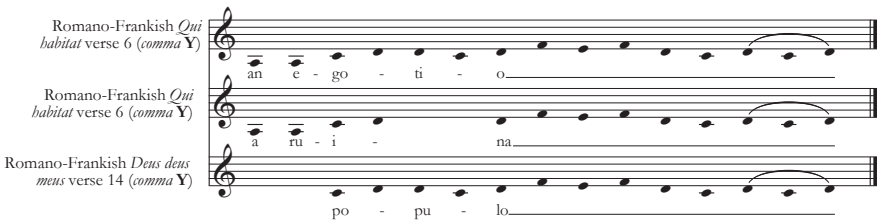
115 Treatment of 'longitudinem' in *Qui habitat* verse 13 as a new tract verse, with capital, V or both is very rare (see p. 25).

In *Qui habitat* verse 2, the Old Roman 'et refugium' has a melodic outline related to the Romano-Frankish phrase (see Example 54).

This is the Old Roman *comma* **X**, also used in the Old Roman tradition in *Deus deus meus* verse 11 on 'et a cornibus',[116] and on 'et a verbo' in *Qui habitat* verse 3, before phrase **4** at the end of the verse. At this point, the Romano-Frankish tradition uses just the opening recitation of *comma* **X**, *C D FF*, before phrase **4a**.[117]

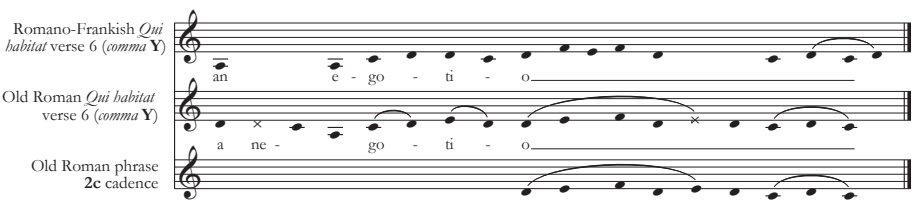
### *Comma* Y

This material returns to the low tessitura of the opening of the chants (*DCA*) followed by a rise to *F* and a further fall to an oscillation between *D* and *C*. There is no cadence at the end of the Romano-Frankish shape, and it does not appear in a fixed position within the verse.[118] *Comma* **Y** appears in the Romano-Frankish tradition in *Qui habitat* verse 6 on 'a negotio' and 'a ruina'; the same ending shapes (without the opening low range) are found in *Deus deus meus* verse 14 on 'Populo' (see Example 55).




EXAMPLE 55 (Romano-Frankish phrases)[119]

In the Old Roman tradition, the same outline is found on the same two occasions in *Qui habitat* verse 6. It ends with the phrase **2c** cadence, which is closely related to the Romano-Frankish outline at this point (Example 56).[120] However, it




EXAMPLE 56

116 Here the Romano-Frankish tradition has *comma* *.

117 Schmidt identifies this as a trace of the caesura melody (that is, phrase **3**) reflecting its outline rather than its gesture; interpretation of this as a fragment, retaining the gesture, of *comma* **X** is more consistent with the processes of an oral tradition: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 94.

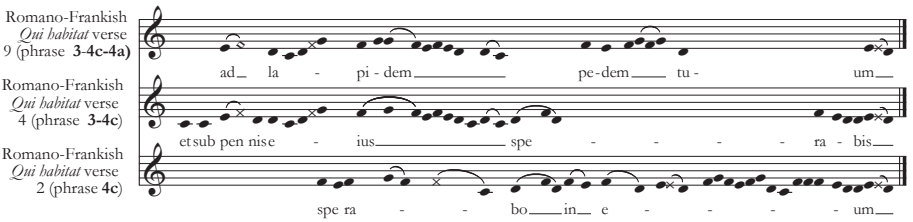
118 While Schmidt identifies these as versions of phrase **3**, they do not share formal context, cadence note, range or melodic shapes with phrase **3**: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 300.

119 As shown in the example, *Fle1* has a scribal error here: 'an egotio' rather than 'a negotio'.

120 Schmidt identifies this Old Roman shape as a phrase **2**, as does Karp: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 300–1; *AOFGC*, 345.

does not share formal context, range, or shapes prior to the cadence with phrase **2**. Either the Romano-Frankish tradition has moved away from standard formulaic shapes, which are preserved in the Old Roman tradition, or the Old Roman tradition has moved closer to the formulas.[121]

The Old Roman *comma* **Y** is also found in *Qui habitat* verse 9 ('ad lapidem') and *Domine exaudi* verse 3 ('uelociter'). In *Domine exaudi* verse 3, the Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **3** shapes with no cadence. The Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 9 appears to have been assimilated into the shapes seen in verse 4 of the same chant. In verse 4, instead of the usual phrase **3** cadence on '(et subpennis e)ius' after the usual phrase **3** shapes, the Romano-Frankish tradition has a cadence on *C*. This is followed by the closing figures of phrase **4c** on 'sperabis', and on closer inspection it becomes clear that the melisma on '-ius' is derived from the earlier part of the phrase **4c** melisma, with the *FGDC* figure expanded into a cadential *FEDCDC* (see Example 57).




EXAMPLE 57

Use of phrase **4c** material makes sense. *Qui habitat* verse 2 uses phrase **4c** on 'sperabo in eum' and the material is transferred in verse 4 to '(e)ius sperabis'; the textual connection is quite clear. In *Qui habitat* verse 9, the *C* cadence is followed not by the remainder of phrase **4c** but by phrase **4a**. Such a centonisation of formulaic phrase elements leads one to suppose that it was not the original pattern (on the reasons for its use see p. 90). The *C* cadence encountered in the Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verses 4 and 9 is not a phrase **2** cadence: it appears completely out of the usual (half-verse) context for a *C* cadence and is different in shape.[122] Instead, it is a variant opening to phrase **4c**, functioning as an independent phrase.

In this analysis I have interpreted the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish *C* cadences on *Qui habitat* verse 9 ('ad lapidem') as coming out of two quite separate motivations. In the Romano-Frankish tradition it is linked to *Qui habitat* verse 4, which itself has a *C* cadence because of a text cue; both begin with phrase **3** material. In the Old Roman tradition, 'ad lapidem' uses the same response found on three other occasions, emerging from a low *A* figure. It is not possible to tell which is closer to the original – it seems very probable that there was some sort of *C*-focused material at this point, and that either the link to *Qui habitat* verse 4 was introduced in the Romano-Frankish tradition, or the material moved towards something more standardised in the Old Roman tradition.

121 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 301.

122 Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 300–1 calls this a rare version of phrase 3. *AOFGC*, 355 labels the phrase $[F\text{-}C]_{31}$.

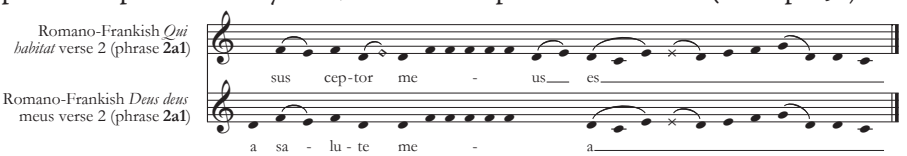
## Textual cues

In some places, striking phrases occur due to textual cues rather than having deeper significance.[123] For a formal outline of each chant, together with a summary of the phrases used, please refer to the analytical tables in Appendix 1.

### *Qui habitat*

As described on pp. 30–1, the textual cue to use phrase **1g** in verses 3, 5 and 9 leads to a non-syntactical text division in verses 3 and 9, in which there is insufficient text to articulate both phrases 3 and 4. In verse 4 the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase 3 material leading into the beginning of the phrase **4c** cadence (on '(e)ius') before completing the cadence on 'sperabis', following the textual parallel of 'sperabo in eum' in verse 2, where phrase **4c** is used (see pp. 72).

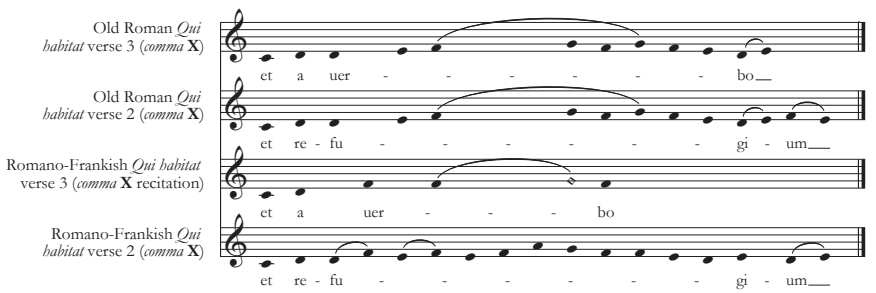
One would expect verse 2 to use phrase **2b1**, as in the Old Roman tradition, given the accent pattern 'méus es'. The Romano-Frankish phrase is also treated with the accent pattern 'méus es', but with the repeated *F* figure of phrase **2a1** on 'me-', a pes on the penultimate syllable, and then the phrase **2a1** cadence (Example 58).




EXAMPLE 58

It is possible that the Romano-Frankish version is here continuing a parallel with *Deus deus meus* verses 12 and 13, both of which also begin the verse with phrase **1d** on 'domin-' and continue with phrase **2a1**.[124] Alternatively, the possessive pronoun 'meus' has cued use of phrase **2a1**.

In verse 3, *comma* **X** substitutes for phrase 3 material before the phrase **4a** close because of the textual cue of 'et' in verse 2, which also uses *comma* **X** (in verse 2, *comma* **X** is used emphatically to connect the text with verse 13 of the chant, as I will discuss on p. 89; in verse 3, the motivation seems to be the text cue); see Example 59.

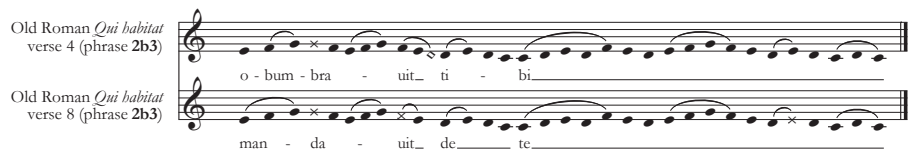



EXAMPLE 59

123 For examples of textual cues in the eighth-mode tracts, see Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, 146–8.

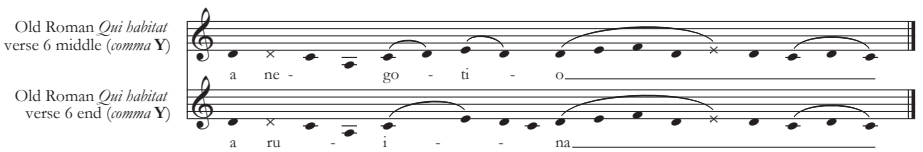
124 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 16.

Because of the text cue between 'Scapulis suis' and 'Quoniam angelis suis', verses 4 and 8 open with the same recitation in the Romano-Frankish tradition (*syllaba* V – see Example 18 on p. 44) and with phrase **1d** in the Old Roman tradition (used in the Old Roman tradition for the texts beginning 'Quoniam': verses 3, 8 and 11).[125] The parallel between verses 4 and 8 continues into the assonant 'obumbrauit tibi' and 'mandauit de te' which use phrase **2a3** or **2b3** (on the Romano-Frankish tradition, see pp. 52 and 54. For the Old Roman tradition, see Example 60).



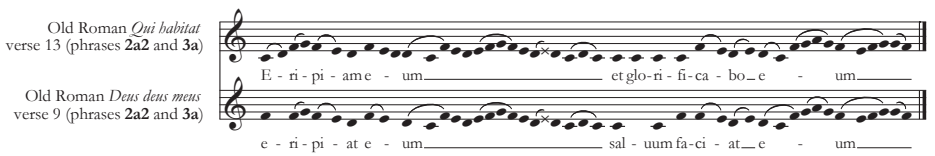

EXAMPLE 60

Verse 6 uses *comma* **Y** twice following the text cue 'a'. This *comma* also helps to articulate the textual structure of the list. For the Old Roman phrases, see Example 61.[126]




EXAMPLE 61

Two phrase shapes are prompted by textual cues from elsewhere in the genre. The first of these is 'per diem' in verse 6, discussed on pp. 31–2. The second is 'Eripiam eum' in verse 13, which begins with phrase **2a2** in the Old Roman tradition, following the text cue of 'eripiat eum' in *Deus deus meus* verse 9. The Old Roman tradition continues with phrase **3a** as if continuing through the verse, despite that not being the usual phrase for the formal context, with the 'eum' text cue of *Deus deus meus* verse 9 helping to maintain this second unexpected phrase (see Example 62).



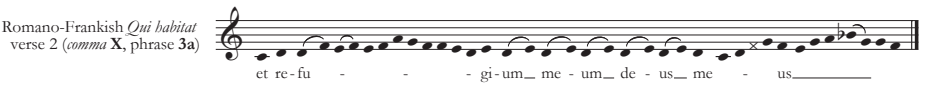

EXAMPLE 62

In the second half of verse 2, the Romano-Frankish version of the chant seems to step outside the genre for a moment. Scholars have often commented on this

125 'Quoniam' begins verses 3, 8 and 11 with recitation *D C D* in the Romano-Frankish tradition, but verses 3 and 11 continue with phrase **1a** where verse 11 has *syllaba* **V**.

126 For the Romano-Frankish phrases, see Example 55 on p. 71; for a comparative example of an Old Roman and a Romano-Frankish phrase, see Example 56 on p. 71.

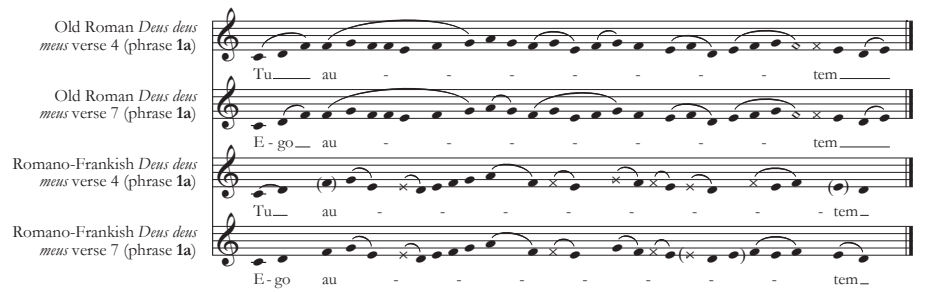
oscillating *D-E* recitation (see Example 63),[127] and this appears to be one of the rare occasions when the Romano-Frankish tradition preserves an oscillating figure aping the Roman singing style. The text is 'et refugium meum deus meus' ('and my God is my refuge') and it may be a reference to Rome being the place of Godly refuge.




EXAMPLE 63

## *Deus deus meus*

The beginning of verse 7, 'Ego autem', uses phrase **1a**, previously used in verse 4 on 'Tu autem' (see Example 64), although this leads to a non-syntactical division of the text.




EXAMPLE 64

Phrase **1d** is used in both traditions in verses 12 and 13 because of the 'domino/dominum' text cue. It is also used in the Old Roman tradition on 'Sperauit in domino' in verse 9 (on the emphatic opening of this verse in both traditions, see p. 98), and in the Old Roman verses 5 and 6, which begin 'In te sperauerunt' and 'Ad te clamauerunt', respectively. In verse 8, 'qui videbant me' uses phrase **1g** because of the verb plus possessive pronoun.

Verse 3 includes the text 'clamabo per diem', and this uses phrase ***2a** instead of phrase **1g** in the Old Roman tradition, although this leads to there being two phrase **2s** in the verse half, because of the textual cue of *Qui habitat* verse 6 which also begins **1e–*2a** (on 'A sagitta uolante per diem'). The Romano-Frankish tradition joins together 'clamabo per diem nec exaudies' into a single phrase ***2b1**, leading to a more usual melodic outline with only one phrase 2 but compromising the syntax. Comparative examples of these phrases in both traditions are given in Example 8 on p. 32.

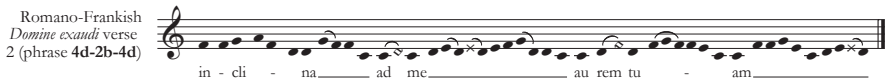
In the Old Roman tradition, 'uerba' in verse 2 seems to have been prompted by the semantic parallel to use the same material as is used on 'laus' in verse 4 (see Example 11 on p. 35).

127 See, *inter alia*, Dominicus Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral* (Leipzig, 1953), 48.

### *Domine exaudi*

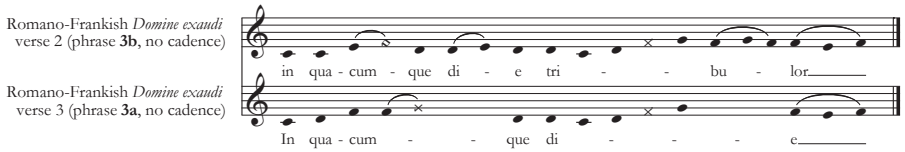
As discussed on p. 31, phrase **1g** is used in both traditions on 'sicut fumus' in verse 4 and again on 'sicut fenum' in verse 5, following the text cue but leading in verse 5 to a less balanced break up of the text.

The final phrase of verse 2 in the Romano-Frankish tradition interpolates the phrase **2b** cadence on 'ad me', following the obvious text cue of 'a me' earlier in the verse as well as 'te' in the following verse (see Example 65).[128]




EXAMPLE 65

In verse 3, the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase 3 on the prepositional phrase 'in quacumque die' which opens the verse, responding to the textual parallel with the previous sentence (see Example 66; both occasions use an incomplete cadence).

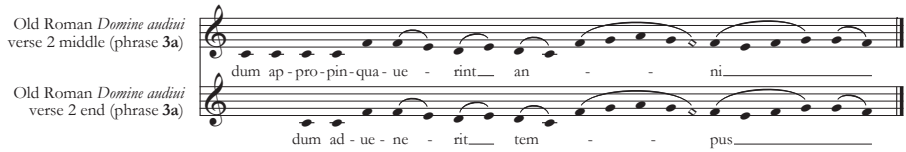



EXAMPLE 66

### *Domine audiui*

The opening of the first verse, 'Domine audiui auditum tuum' textually parallels the beginning of *Domine exaudi* ('Domine exaudi orationem meam') and both have identical melodies in both traditions,[129] despite the fact that this leads to the presence of two phrase **2**s in *Domine audiui* verse 1.

The Old Roman tradition follows a text cue in verse 3, using phrase 3 on both portions of text beginning 'dum' (see Example 67).




EXAMPLE 67

128 Noted in *AOFGC*, 347.
129 Noted in Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 18.

## Conclusions

The textual syntax and its division into segments combine with the four main phrases and their subgroups to form a musical grammar with a clear formulaic structure. This is not an abstract set of conventions, like those of common practice harmony, or the dyadic counterpoint of the fourteenth century. Instead, the application of these conventions is fundamentally connected to the syntactical and accentual structure of the text, and acts as a means of punctuating and articulating that text. The *ars musica* does not merely share the vocabulary of the *ars grammatica*; the melodic grammar of the second-mode tracts is fundamentally reliant upon textual structure.

The relationship between the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions is close, but the systems (and hence the melodies) are not exactly equivalent. When differences occur, it is possible that one tradition has diverged from the norm because the norm was not understood. Since the departures from the standard phrases almost always occur in the Romano-Frankish tradition, this would require one to posit that the ninth-century Franks did not understand the formulaic structure of the genre. My work on the Frankish *Eripe me* and the other chants composed in the Frankish empire before *c*. 900 demonstrates clearly that this is not the case: phrases **1**, **2**, **3** and **4** are used in their expected formal positions, and departures from the basic formulaic system are exactly what one does *not* encounter (see Chapters 6 and 7). The musical grammar of the second-mode tracts was understood by the ninth-century Franks, whether implicitly or explicitly.

Some variants reflect different but equally grammatical solutions within the idiom, and I have signalled this in my analysis. Generally, one tradition responds to a textual cue while the other has the formally expected phrase, although sometimes different interpretations of the accent pattern lead to different solutions. The versions we have represent notated examples of individual oral solutions to the challenge of articulating a particular text within the genre. Sometimes, one can hypothesise with some confidence that one version has diverged from the norm for a particular reason. I argued on pp. 20–2 that this may have been the case on several occasions in the Frankish version of *Domine audiui*, in response to the unfamiliar Septuagint text.

It is, of course, possible that both traditions have altered since the Frankish adoption of Roman chant in the later-eighth century, and occasionally two separate solutions in the two traditions suggest an implicit third version, sharing characteristics of both but lying outside the formulaic system. An example of this is *Qui habitat* verse 7,'et decem milia', discussed on p. 49.

When the two traditions diverge, it is more likely that one tradition represents a move towards the easily remembered structure of the formulaic system than that the other represents the introduction and accurate retention of a non-formulaic phrase.[130] It is hard to maintain unique solutions in a large oral repertory over many years; people tend towards familiar ways of moving from A to B. In

130 As argued in detail in *CR*.

my analysis of the second-mode tracts, every occasion where the formulaic system seems to be operating with different principles in the two traditions leads one to conclude either that the Romano-Frankish tradition has introduced more variety, or that the Old Roman tradition has become more standardised. I am persuaded by the historical evidence that the Franks purposefully adopted Roman chant and attempted to transmit it accurately, which leads me towards the latter view, that the Old Roman tradition has become more standardised. This is resonant with the findings of analysts of other genres,[131] and it is certainly consistent with the longer oral transmission of the Old Roman repertory.[132]

131 See, for example, Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

132 On which see John Boe, 'Chant Notation in Eleventh-Century Roman Manuscripts', in Graeme M. Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 43–58; and John Boe, 'Music Notation in Archivio San Pietro C 105 and in the Farfa Breviary, Chigi C. VI. 177', *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 1–45.

# 4

## RESPONSES TO TEXTUAL MEANING IN THE SECOND-MODE TRACT MELODIES

While relationships between chant, grammar and rhetoric have previously been identified, these have tended to concentrate on Carolingian and later compositions such as tropes and sequences.[1] Other studies have focused on general analogies and parallels between chant and grammar, generally giving limited illustrative examples of single chants, often those used for similar purposes by medieval commentators.[2] By contrast, I here offer a detailed exploration of the interaction between textual and musical rhetoric in one genre within the Western liturgical chant core repertory.

Whereas grammar is the art of correct language, rhetoric is the art of good delivery. The purpose of rhetoric is *docere*, *delectare*, *movere*: to teach, to delight, to move. Rhetoric was acceptable within Christian doctrine, according to Augustine, as long as it was aimed at leading people towards Christian truth.[3] The 'measured' style, whose primary purpose was to delight, used ornamental figures and, in treatises, 'music was often treated as an ornament that replaces meter, since it could order, proportion and measure the words'.[4] In this sense, replacing a spoken expression of a text or a simple intonation with structured melody constitutes a rhetorically enhanced rendition of it, regardless of the melody's characteristics. Many aspects of chant performance were never written down: there is, for example, no explicit sign for a silence in neumatic notation, although silence was an important rhetorical strategy in chant performance.[5] The notation of ornamentation through the quilisma and oriscus is inconsistent in different manuscripts, and also in different notations of the same phrase within a single manuscript. This rhetorical tool there-

1 See, for example, Jonsson and Treitler, 'Medieval Music and Language', 1–23; Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*; Nancy Van Deusen, 'The Use and Significance of Sequence', in *The Harp and the Soul* (New York, 1989), ch. 4. Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca and London, 2006), 65–80 focuses on the role of liturgical texts as theological expression within eleventh-century Farfa's Trinity Matins.

2 Rankin, 'Carolingian Music'; Desmond, '*Sicut in grammatica*'; Bower, 'The Grammatical Model'.

3 Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 44; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and transl. R. P. L. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 197.

4 Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 58.

5 Hornby, 'Preliminary Thoughts on Silence'.

fore appears to have been applied in performance, according to cantorial whim, and therefore lies beyond the scope of this study, which is concerned with rhetorical aspects integral to the composition of the second-mode tracts.[6]

As discussed on pp. 64–72, some melodic characteristics of the second-mode tracts lend particular emphasis to particular words. These include large leaps, extremes of tessitura, repeated melodic patterns, either within a melisma or on separate syllables within a phrase (beyond the standard Old Roman *FED* oscillations), and non-melismatic articulation of a portion of text within this primarily melismatic genre outside the usual formulaic recitation patterns within phrases.[7] Some of these characteristics appear in formulaic phrases whose use is always emphatic. Each second-mode tract also uses formulaic phrases in unexpected places, or melodic shapes which lie outside the formulaic system altogether. Musical cross-references with other tracts, or with chants of other genres, contribute to webs of meaning. Chant melodies cannot, of course, add specific interpretative meaning but they can emphasise words and, by using the same music, connect them.[8] I will argue here that such strategies act as rhetorical markers. Parts of the chants where the textual divisions are consonant with the syntax, as described in Chapter 2, and where phrases **1a**, **1b**, **1c**, **1d**, **2a**, **2b**, **3a**, **3b**, **3c**, **4a**, **4b**, **4c**, **4d**, **4e** and **4f** are used as expected, or text cues are followed, as described in Chapter 3, will not be discussed here.

## Medieval exegesis

Rather than being random or arbitrary, the rhetorical emphasis of certain portions of text in the second-mode tracts appears purposefully to promote a particular interpretation of the psalm or canticle. This strategy connects the creation and transmission of the second-mode tracts with biblical exegesis, the principal means by which theology was practised in patristic times and the early Middle Ages.[9]

The 'four senses of Scripture' remains the standard way of differentiating between exegetical approaches. The division developed gradually over the centuries, but its origin lies in the *Conference* of John Cassian (*c.* 360–435), book 14, chapter 8 'Of Spiritual Knowledge', in which he writes that theoretical knowledge (i.e. theology) is divided into two parts: historical interpretation and spiritual sense. Historical

6 For an example of a phrase notated with different combinations of ornaments, see the discussion of phrase **1c** in Chapter 3 (see pp. 61–2). On the optional status of the quilisma and oriscus, see Óscar Mascareñas, 'A Syntactical Study of the Quilisma and Oriscus', in László Dobszay (ed.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 12th meeting of the IMS Study Group, Lillafüred, 2004* (Budapest, 2006), 537–47.

7 An example of the converse – an emphatic melisma within a primarily syllabic chant – appears in Boynton's discussion of the Farfa *Exultet*: see *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 177.

8 Recent chant studies which build on similar ideas include Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, and Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*.

9 Robert Louis Wilken, 'Foreword', in Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, 1998–2000), *x*.

interpretation is the literal reading of the Old Testament as history, representing episodes in the lives of David, Moses and so on, and this mode of interpretation has become, and remained, primary in Roman Catholic doctrine. The spiritual sense of interpreting scripture relates the Old Testament to the Christian message in various ways, and was divided by John Cassian into three: the tropological, allegorical and anagogical modes of interpretation.[10] The moral or tropological interpretation of scripture sees biblical texts as sources of Christian moral teaching, and as models for right behaviour. The allegorical interpretation of scripture approaches the Old Testament as prophecy – on many levels – of the coming of Christ and the Christian present. The anagogical interpretation sees biblical texts as prefiguring the Christian future, particularly the last judgement and heaven.[11]

The second-mode tract *Domine audiui* is based on the canticle in Habakkuk 3. The two main writers with whose commentaries on Habakkuk the early-medieval cantors would have been familiar are Augustine and Jerome. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* book 18, chapter 32, is entirely devoted to the Septuagint version of Habakkuk 3,[12] and Jerome includes the text in his commentary on the minor prophets.[13] Although it almost certainly postdates the extant shape of the second-mode tracts, Bede's commentary on the canticle is also pertinent here, as representative of the early-medieval tradition of interpreting the text.[14]

Since the psalms were a central focus within the exegetical tradition, much more interpretative material survives pertaining to the three psalmic texts, *Deus deus meus*, *Domine exaudi* and *Qui habitat*. As well as commentaries on the Psalter, the texts were interpreted in *Tituli Psalmorum* and psalm collects. An important aspect of psalm commentary from the time of Hilary of Poitiers onwards was the identification of the voice of the speaker (often Christ, the Church, the Apostles or David) in any given psalm, or portion of a psalm, which serves as a shorthand for a correct meditative response or for longer exegetical treatments. These identifications became abstracted into sets of *Tituli Psalmorum*, or psalm titles, six series of which have been identified, dating from the late-third to the late-sixth century. They 'present the psalms as prophecies of Christ's redemptive work',[15] and are partly derived from the writings of Jerome, Origen and Cassiodorus, among others. Some

10 This itself builds on Origen and Jerome, but divides Origen's third sense (the spiritual) into two (allegorical and anagogical). A translation of Cassian is available online at <http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nicene_and_Post-Nicene_Fathers:_Series_II>.

11 The four senses of scripture are magisterially outlined by de Lubac in *Medieval Exegesis*; his argument is summarised in Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 41.

12 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*; transl. *The City of God*.

13 Jerome, *Commentarium in Abacuc*. A brief assessment of Jerome on the Habakkuk canticle is given in Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'The Meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony: Visual and Literary Uses of a Eucharistic Motif', in Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Patrick F. Wallace (eds.), *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney* (Galway, 1988), 1–58: 27–9; see also Ó Carragáin, '"*Traditio evangeliorum*" and "*sustentatio*": The Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells', in Felicity D. Mahoney (ed.), *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6–9 September 1992* (Aldershot, 1994), 398–436: 422.

14 Bede, *In canticum Habakuk*; transl. in *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*.

15 'présentent les psaumes comme des prophéties de l'oeuvre rédemptrice du Christ': Pierre Salmon, *Les 'Tituli Psalmorum' des manuscrits latins* (Paris, 1959), 117.

of the *Tituli* in the earliest series, series 1, found in sixth-century sources, provide information about when the psalm was sung liturgically. Most of these liturgical hints are lost in series 2 and 3, and all are lost in the three later series.[16] In all six series, despite there being a considerable amount of choice about how to interpret a given psalm, the Christian interpretation of the texts is a constant thread.[17] The *Tituli Psalmorum* provide a useful first point of reference in ascertaining possible early-medieval approaches to these texts. They are shown, for ease of reference, in Table 8, and will be discussed below with reference to each second-mode tract.

Table 8. Texts and translations of the relevant *Tituli Psalmorum*[18]

| PSALM 21 [22]<br>*Deus deus meus* | PSALM 90 [91]<br>*Qui habitat* | PSALM 101 [102]<br>*Domine exaudi* |
|---|---|---|
| Series 1 (St Columba) | | |
| 'The voice of the suffering Christ' ('Verba Christi cum pateretur') | 'The voice of the Church to Christ; to be read at the Gospel of Mark where Christ is tempted' ('Vox Ecclesiae ad Christum. Legendus ad evangelium Marci ubi temptatur Christus') | 'The voice of Christ and the Church when he had ascended to the Father' ('Vox Christi et Ecclesiae cum ascendisset ad Patrem') |
| Series 2 (St Augustine of Canterbury) | | |
| 'Of the Passion of Christ' ('De Passione Christi') | 'The voice of God to the people who believe' ('Vox Dei ad populum credentem') | 'The voice of one repenting' ('Vox penitentem agentis') |
| Series 3 (inspired by Jerome) | | |
| 'Christ speaks of his Passion and the prophet speaks of the calling of the nations. This is the voice not of the divinity but of the flesh assumed, which, in order that it might die, was abandoned by the Word, and resuscitated through the Word' ('Christus de passione sua et de vocatione gentium propheta dicit. Vox haec non divinitatis sed carnis adsumptae est, quae ut moreretur, et derelicta a verbo est et resuscitata per verbum') | 'The prophet is speaking generally of every just man. Now he [the prophet] speaks, now God' ('Propheta generaliter de omni viro justo, nunc eodem loquente, nunc Deo') | 'The voice of Christ at his Passion, and in general of all saints under temptation; and the prophet speaks of the vocation of the Church' ('Vox Christi in Passione, et generaliter omnium sanctorum in temptatione; et de vocatione Ecclesiae propheta dicit') |

16 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 69.

17 Salmon, *'Tituli Psalmorum'*, 120–2.

18 All quotations in this table are taken from Salmon, *'Tituli Psalmorum'*; I wish to record my thanks to Gillian Clark for her assistance with the translations in this chapter.

| PSALM 21 [22]<br>*Deus deus meus* | PSALM 90 [91]<br>*Qui habitat* | PSALM 101 [102]<br>*Domine exaudi* |
|---|---|---|
| Series 4 (transmitted by Eusebius of Caesarea) | | |
| 'Prophecy of the sufferings of Christ and of the calling of the nations' ('Prophetatio Christi passionum et gentium vocationis') | 'The victory of Christ and of everyone who is perfect according to God' ('Christi victoria et omnis qui secundum Deum perfectus') | 'Tribulation concerning the former people, and a prophecy not of the people, and the vocation of the nations' ('Tribulatio super priorem populum et prophetia non populi et vocatio gentium') |
| Series 5 (inspired by Origen) | | |
| 'That He was pierced by nails, they permitted His clothes to be divided by lots' ('Quod ipse transfixus clavis, vestimenta sua sorte divide permisent') | 'That He, returning triumphant from the underworld, trampled on the head of the lion and the overturned snake' ('Quod ipse caput leonis et draconis perversi rediens victor ex inferno calcaverit') | 'That after His giving of judgement, He destroys the impious with early-morning vengeance' ('Quod ipsius post judicium matutina ultione impios disperdat') |
| Series 6 (Cassiodorus, summarised by Bede) | | |
| 'In this psalm, Christ speaks to the Father about his Passion, and admonishes the faithful to praise the Lord because in his resurrection he looked to the whole Church' ('In hoc psalmo Christus de passione sua ad Patrem loquitur, admonetque fideles laudare Dominum quia in resurrectione sua catholicam respexit Ecclesiam') | 'The prophet proclaims that all the faithful are encompassed with God's help, and announces praise of Christ' ('Propheta praedicit omnem fidelem Dei adiutorio circumdari, laudemque Christi denunciat') | 'The prophet speaks in the person of a poor just man so that God may attend to his prayers' ('Propheta dicit de persona cuiuslibet pauperis justi, ut Dominus ad eius preces intendat') |

The three series of psalm collects provide further information about the early-medieval interpretation of the psalms. These are fifth and sixth century, of monastic origin and use, and the third series is from sixth-century Rome.[19] They seem to have been used after the reciting of each psalm within the monastic liturgy, although their history remains under-researched.[20] Although the psalm collects began to fall out of use as early as the sixth century,[21] and certainly by the end of the Carolingian era,[22] they still give an impression of the important themes in each psalm, with the Roman series possibly being current in Rome at the time when the tract texts were assigned liturgically. Each psalm collect develops a few words from the psalm, and thus helps to identify some of its key exegetical themes.

19 Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', 74. For the psalm collects, see André Wilmart and Louis Brou, *The Psalter Collects from V–VI Century Sources*, Henry Bradshaw Society 83 (London, 1949).

20 Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', 73–4.

21 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 76–7.

22 Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', 74.

More extended exegetical responses to the psalms are to be found in biblical commentaries. Certainly the most influential patristic exegete was Augustine. Originally intended for delivery as sermons, his commentaries emphasise moral teaching.[23] He approaches every psalm through a single unifying idea, of which each is a particular expression: the psalms are a prophecy of Christ and his Church.[24] The psalms permeate Augustine's writings more generally. In *De civitate Dei*, for example, which bids mankind to enter the heavenly city or stay in the earthly one, Augustine refers to psalms and other writings which were standard prophecies of the coming of Christ.

Other influential exegetes include Jerome, who refers many individual psalms to Christ,[25] and Cassiodorus, whose commentary on the psalms was also widely read throughout the Middle Ages; it is based on Augustine's ideas, which added to its attraction.[26] One of the least used commentators on the psalms in modern scholarship is Arnobius, a Roman monk whose references and allusions to liturgical psalmody make it seem 'clear that Arnobius stands closer than most patristic writers to the milieu in which at least some of the Gregorian texts were established'.[27] The psalm commentaries of each of these writers will be considered in relation to the second-mode tracts.

It is also crucial to take into account the broader context of the chants in whose melodic patterns I am interested. Second-mode tracts were not performed in an isolated intellectual and theological space, but were part of some of the most elaborate liturgies of Lent. Rather than accompanying ritual action, they were themselves the focus of attention. The surrounding chant texts give a context for the second-mode tracts, as do the gospels and epistles for the feasts, preserved in the seventh-century Roman Lectionary.[28]

As discussed on pp. 9–10, while the origins of the second-mode tracts may be ancient, it is very possible that they were codified in late-seventh- or early-eighth-century Rome into something akin to the state in which they are found in the ninth-century Frankish manuscripts. The Roman cantors at this time were without doubt familiar with some *Tituli Psalmorum*, and with commentaries by such figures as Augustine, Jerome, Arnobius and Cassiodorus. The ninth-century Franks who carried the tradition of liturgical chant, and added to it, would have been familiar with the same central texts, either directly, or through medieval commentaries

23 Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', 69.

24 Pierre Salmon, *L'office divin: histoire de la formation du bréviaire* (Paris, 1959), 107–110.

25 Jerome, *Tractatus lix in Psalmos*, in *Opera pars II, opera homiletica*, ed. Germain Morin, CCSL 78 (Turnhout, 1958), 3–352.

26 Theresa Gross-Diaz, 'From *Lectio Divina* to the Lecture Room: The Psalm Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers', in Nancy van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1999), 91–104: 96. For Cassiodorus's commentary, see Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 98 (Turnhout, 1958).

27 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 68. For Arnobius's commentary, see Arnobius iunior, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, in *Opera omnia pars I*, ed. K.-D. Daur, CCSL 25 (Turnhout, 1990).

28 See D. G. Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes* ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine', *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910), 41–74 (the Würzburg *Comes* Epistles directory, representing Roman use *c.* 600) and Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* (Münster, 1972) (the Gospel lectionary).

derived from them. Here I will approach the rhetorically heightened phrases of the second-mode tracts in light of the exegetical interpretations of the texts with which the monks and clerics would have been familiar. The second-mode melodies appear to focus the listener's meditative response primarily in a direction consistent with that of allegorical exegesis, being read as prophecy of Christ's earthly life, death and resurrection.

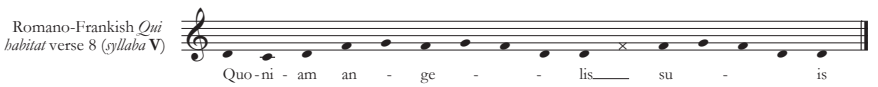
## Rhetorical and exegetical emphasis

### *Qui habitat*

'Dicet domino' begins verse 2 with *syllaba* **W** and then phrase **1d** in the Old Roman tradition where the Romano-Frankish tradition simply uses phrase **1d**. Use of *syllaba* **W**, together with the two words being separated by a cadence from the following direct speech helps to punctuate the change of voice – perhaps a musical equivalent of speech marks. This emphasis helps to articulate the textual structure.

*Qui habitat* is formed of verses 1–7 and 11–16 of Psalm 90 [91]. Verses 5 to 7 are a catalogue of the dangers that the faithful man need not fear, and verse 11, consciously chosen by the compilers of the chant text for the tract continuation after omitting several psalm verses, gives the reason for the faithful man not to be afraid: 'Because he has commanded his angels concerning you, that they should protect you in all your ways'. This verse is a subordinate clause, completing the previous sentence, and this textual omission (concerning the faithful man watching the punishment of the wicked from the safe refuge of God) means that God's command to the angels is linked back syntactically as well as thematically to the list of dangers.

At the break between these two psalm sections, the Romano-Frankish version uses *syllaba* **V**, consisting of an oscillating recitation with *FGFD* on each of the two main accents, rather than a standard verse-opening phrase (see Example 68).




EXAMPLE 68

The use of both second-mode reciting notes (*F* and *D*) within a phrase is generally characteristic of the Old Roman tradition rather than the Roman-Frankish tradition, which leads one to suspect that such double recitation was original to the melody and faithfully maintained in the Romano-Frankish tradition.[29] Avoiding the usual melismatic phrase shapes serves to articulate the text very clearly. The lack of standard verse-opening material at the beginning of the Romano-Frankish verse 8, and the lack of a cadence through the whole verse half, helps to maintain the flow of a text of whose missing elements monastic listeners would be well aware.

Most emphatic phrases in *Qui habitat* work on a deeper level, highlighting important textual themes. They are summarised in Table 9, for ease of reference.

29 The Old Roman version uses phrase **1d** following a text cue – see p. 48.

TABLE 9. Emphatic phrases in *Qui habitat*[30]

| VERSE | TEXT | TRANSLATION | EMPHATIC MELODY |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'in protectione dei celi commorabitur' | 'shall dwell in the protection of the Lord of the heavens' | text division (OR, R-F); **4a–2c** (OR); **4b–2a1–2c–4b** (R-F) |
| 2 | 'et refugium' | 'and [my] refuge' | *comma* **X** (OR, R-F) |
| 5 | 'Scuto' | '[With] a shield' | *syllaba* **W** (R-F, OR) |
| 6 | 'A sagitta uolante per diem'[a] | 'Of the arrow that flies by day' | **1e *2b** (R-F, OR) |
| 6 | 'a negotio perambulante in tenebris' | 'of the trouble that walks about in the dark' | *comma* **Y**, syllabic rise, **2b1** (OR); *comma* **Y**, **4a** (no cadence), **2b2** (R-F) |
| 6 | 'a ruina et demonio meridiano' | 'of ruin and the demon at midday' | *comma* **Y**, syllabic rise, **4a**; *comma* **Y**, **4a** (no cadence), **Z'** (R-F) |
| 7 | 'Cadent a latere tuo mille' | 'A thousand will fall at your right side' | **1f *2c** (OR); **Z *2c** (R-F) |
| 9 | 'ad lapidem' | 'on a stone' | **3–4c** opening (R-F) |
| 10 | 'ambulabis' | 'you will tread' | **2c** (OR, R-F) |
| 10 | 'leonem et draconem' | 'the lion and the serpent' | **Z Z** (OR); **4b–Z Z** (R-F) |
| 12 | 'et ego exaudiam eum' | 'and I will hear him' | ***2** (R-F) |
| 13 | 'Eripiam eum' | 'I will deliver him' | *comma* **X** (R-F) |
| 13 | 'longitudinem' | 'length [of days]' | *comma* **X** (R-F) |

[a] 'a' is literally 'from', but 'of' is more idiomatic: see Appendix 1 for further discussion of my translation.

Each year, the second-mode tract *Qui habitat* was sung first on Quadragesima Sunday. The Gospel reading on this day was from Matthew 4, the account of the Temptation.[31] The Temptation was particularly associated with the season of Lent, in which the church 'symbolically accompanied Christ into the desert to fast, pray and overcome temptation'.[32] Gregory the Great's *Homily 16* for Quadragesima Sunday makes just such a connection between the Temptation and the forty-day fast of the

30 In Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12, 'Old Roman' is abbreviated as 'OR' and 'Romano-Frankish' is abbreviated as 'R-F'.

31 On the importance of the Gospel reading to the liturgy for the whole day in the liturgical calendar, see Margot Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West', in Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 2000), 15–47: 27. On the assignment of Matthew 4 to Quadragesima, see McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 285. The relevant text is as follows: '[1]Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. [2]And after fasting forty days and forty nights, he was hungry . . . [5]Then the devil took him to the holy city and set him on the pinnacle of the temple [6]and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down, for it is written, 'He will command his angels concerning you' [Psalm 90 [91]: 11] and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'" [Psalm 90 [91]: 12] [7]Jesus said to the devil, "it is written, 'You shall not put the Lord your God to the test.'" (This translation is taken from the English Standard Version).

32 Ó Carragáin, 'Christ over the Beasts and the Agnus Dei', 381.

faithful, while reminding them of the origin of sin and the devil's role in it;[33] Jerome's sermon for the same day similarly comments on the Temptation and the Exodus narrative's forty days in the desert.[34] The association of the Gospel Temptation narrative with the Mass at the beginning of the forty-day Lenten fast is thus entirely appropriate. Because of the quotations of Psalm 90 [91] in the Gospel reading for Quadragesima Sunday, the psalm was naturally connected to the Temptation in medieval images and in commentaries, one example being the first series of *Tituli Psalmorum* in which Psalm 90 [91] is entitled 'The voice of the Church to Christ; to be read at the Gospel of Mark where Christ is tempted', although the lectionaries indicate use of Matthew's account on Quadragesima Sunday rather than Mark's. Even in his largely tropological reading of the psalm, Augustine begins by commenting that 'this psalm is that from which the Devil dared to tempt our Lord Jesus Christ'.[35] Psalm 90 [91] permeates the Quadragesima liturgy, providing the text not only for the tract, but for the introit, gradual, offertory and communion chants as well,[36] and marking Lent at its beginning as a commemoration of Christ in the desert.

Cassiodorus writes that the first part of Psalm 90 [91] relates to God's protection of the faithful,[37] and the protection of the faithful is also a feature of Jerome's commentary on the psalm. Arnobius's commentary opens with a discussion of God's protection of the faithful from invisible enemies. It closely paraphrases the opening verses of the psalm before being led by the text 'Cadent a latere tuo mille' into a long exploration of the right as the direction in which the help of God lies, closing with a further section of close paraphrases.[38] The Roman psalm collect for Psalm 90 [91] translates as: 'Grant us, Lord, by our invocations to you, to tread away from the deadly poisons of the snake and the basilisk so that, your salvation having been shown to us, we may be armed in the shadow of the shield against the ambush of spiritual enemies',[39] in which the faithful ask the Lord to save and defend them.[40]

In *Tituli Psalmorum* series 2, the psalm is described as being the voice of God

33 Gregory the Great, *Homilies*, PL 76, col. 1134D–1138C; <http://pld.chadwyck.com>. 'Sermons written in the fifth and sixth centuries are ... the foundation upon which all future liturgical development took place', Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources', 18–19.

34 Jerome, 'Sermo de quadragesima', in *Opera pars II, opera homiletica*, ed. Germain Morin, CCSL 78 (Turnhout, 1958), 533–5.

35 Salmon, *'Tituli Psalmorum'*, 67. For further examples of the connection, see Meyer Shapiro, 'The Religious Meaning of the Ruthwell Cross', *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944), 232–45: 233 n. 5; see also n. 7 for a list of psalters in which this psalm is illustrated with a picture of the Temptation.

36 McKinnon considers the gradual *Angelis suis* (Psalm 90 [91]: 11–12) to be a later chant: 'it is set to a particularly routine example of the A-2 melody type', and writes that this text together with the texts of the introit *Invocabit* (Psalm 90 [91]: 15–16), offertory *Scapulis suis* (Psalm 90 [91]; 4–5) and communion *Scapulis suis* (Psalm 90 [91]; 4–5) seem to be borrowed from the tract: see *The Advent Project*, 285–6.

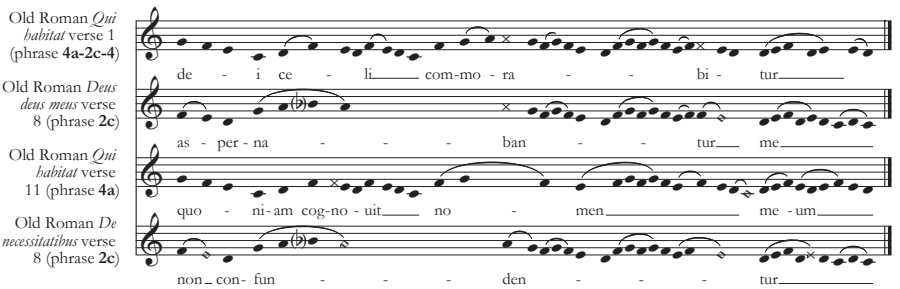
37 Cassiodorus, *'Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 829.

38 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 135–6. For the paraphrased Roman Psalter text, see Appendix 5.

39 *Praesta nobis domine per inuocationem nominis tui aspidis et basilisci letali a uenena calcare, ut ostensum nobis salutare tuum, aduersus insidias inimici spiritalis clipei umbraculo muniamur*: see Wilmart and Brou, *The Psalter Collects*, 203.

40 'aspidis et basilisci' and 'salutare tuum' are paraphrased from the psalm text.

to the people who believe, and in series 3 as a prophecy to all just men. In series 6, the prophet predicts the faithful surrounding God, praising Christ, and the chosen faithful are also referred to in series 4. The theme of the faithful trusting in God is clearly theologically important, and its introduction in the tract text is musically highlighted. In verse 1, the second verse half is the main clause of the sentence, with a prepositional phrase. It does not divide according to the syntax, dividing half way through the prepositional phrase rather than between the prepositional phrase and the rest of the sentence. There is an abbreviated phrase 3 cadence on 'in protectione' in the Romano-Frankish tradition.[41] While this abbreviated cadence helps to tie together the verse half as a single unit, the division after 'in protectione' gives special weight to 'dei celi', the remainder of the prepositional phrase, and the key word, 'protectione' is emphasised through the punctuating silence following the incomplete cadence. As shown in Example 69, the Old Roman 'dei celi commo-' is exactly like the phrase **4a** opening and '-rabitur' is the phrase **2c** ending, except that the usual **2c** *DEDCDC* cadence is replaced by *DEED* for the end of the verse. This follows a text cue: the only other second-mode tract phrase with the future verb ending '-tur' is *Deus deus meus* verse 8 'aspernabantur me'. Both this and 'non confundentur' in the related gradual *De necessitatibus* use phrase **2c** in the Old Roman tradition. The textual cue is followed rather than using emphatic music to highlight the words.



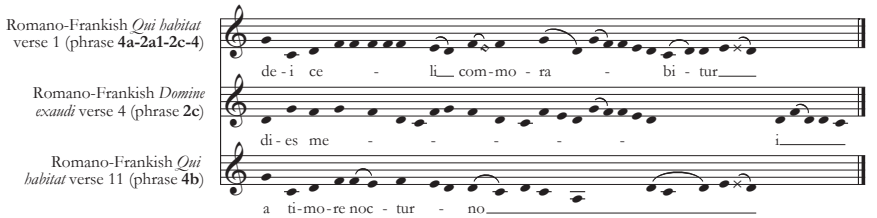

EXAMPLE 69

The Romano-Frankish phrase is a succession of unconnected *syllaba*: the *G-C* fall seen at the beginning of phrase **4b**; the repeated *F* recitation of phrase **2a1** on 'celi'; part of the phrase **2c** melisma on 'commora-'; and the phrase **4b** cadence to end the phrase (see Example 70).[42] It is possible that this phrase was originally entirely unique and has moved closer to a combination of phrase 4 and phrase 2 elements, to which the original phrase bore some resemblance. In that hypothetical unique state, as in its current centonised state, the phrase departs from the formulaic system and therefore emphasises the words 'dei celi commorabitur'.[43]

41 The abbreviated cadence was noted by Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 93. *Fle1* is variant, having the standard cadence.

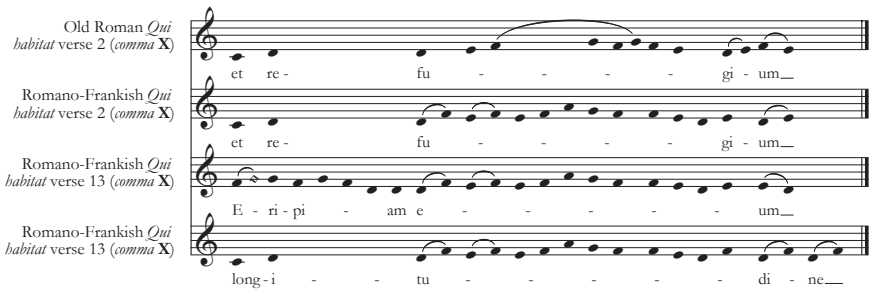
42 See also *AOFGC*, 110–11.

43 Karp's interpretation of this material is entirely different from mine: in *AOFGC* he writes that the Old Roman motifs are not standard (327) and that the Romano-Frankish version is formulaic 'only in the loosest sense' (114), hypothesising that this shape developed into a formulaic system by



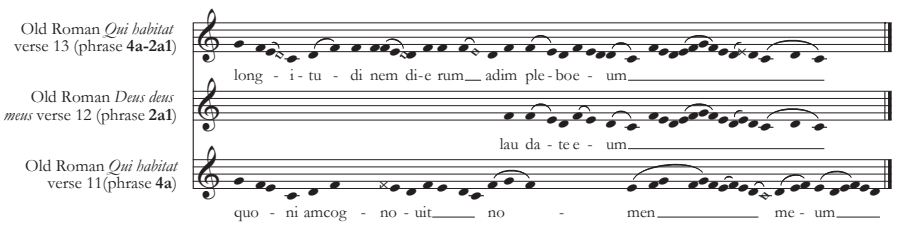

EXAMPLE 70

In verse 2, 'et refugium' is emphasised by use of *comma* X in both traditions, a shape also used in the Romano-Frankish tradition no less than twice in the final verse of the chant, on 'Eripiam eum' ('I will deliver him') and on 'longitudinem' ('length (of days)'),[44] as shown in Example 71. God's promises at the end of the chant are thus musically linked to the faithful man's trust in God as refuge in verse 2.




EXAMPLE 71

This association may have been present in both traditions originally. However, in the Old Roman tradition as preserved in the manuscripts, 'Eripiam eum' follows a text cue (discussed on p. 74) and 'longitudinem' has the opening shapes of phrase **4a**, perhaps showing a move towards the standard shapes following phrase 3 on 'et glorificabo eum' (see Example 72).




EXAMPLE 72

the time *Deus deus meus* was composed. I think it unlikely that a non-formulaic shape would be maintained in an established formulaic genre simply by virtue of being old, and that instead this was originally a unique and intentionally emphatic phrase.

44 'dierum' is also emphasised in the Romano-Frankish tradition by using *syllaba* W. 'longitudinem dierum' is eternal life, according to Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, ed. Eligius Dekkers, CCSL 39 (Turnhout, 1956), 1277.

In the Romano-Frankish tradition, the verse 9 assurance that the faithful man will not hit his foot 'on a stone' when carried by the angels is linked to the assurance that the faithful man will hope 'under God's wings' in verse 4 since both use phrase **3** material with a cadence derived from the beginning of phrase **4c**. In verse 4 this combination is stimulated by a text cue, as discussed on p. 72, and the repetition of it in verse 9 reflects the thematic parallel between the protection of God's wings and the faithful man's safety when carried by winged angels.[45]

The theme of the well-founded trust of the faithful man in God is emphased by the unexpected textual division in verse 1, use of *comma* **X** in verse 2, and use of unusual centonised material in verses 1 and 9 (in the Romano-Frankish tradition). The melody gives a particular slant to that from which the faithful man will be protected. *Syllaba* **W** is used in both traditions at the beginning of verse 5, meaning that the word 'Scuto' ('shield') is very clearly enunciated (see pp. 44–5). This is the first of the battle images to be highlighted in this setting of the text, and it is treated as an important concept in the Roman psalm collect which refers to the sheltering shield ('clipei umbraculo') against the ambush of spiritual enemies.

In verse 6, 'A sagitta' ('of the arrow') uses the emphatic phrase **1e** in both traditions, followed by the highlighted treatment of phrase **2b** as phrase ***2b** in both traditions on 'uolante per diem' ('that flies by day'). This arrow is sometimes interpreted in medieval commentary as representing open temptation to sin.[46] Cassiodorus interprets it as referring to the persecution of tyrants;[47] Jerome sees the arrow flying by day as being the arguments of heretics and philosophers.[48] The battle is clearly not a literal one, although its specific meaning varies from commentator to commentator.

Verse 6 continues with two more threats (you will not be afraid 'of the trouble that walks about in the dark' or 'of ruin and the demon at midday'), and these are given a parallel and emphatic treatment in both traditions. Each item begins with *comma* **Y**. The Old Roman tradition then uses a syllabic and stepwise rise on 'per ambulante' and 'et demonio' which, by leaving the formulaic phrases and proceeding syllabically rather than with the usual melodic density, also emphasises the texts. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, this rise appears to have been assimilated into the very similar formulaic phrase **4a** (ending with *D* rather than with the cadential *DEED*); see Example 73. The Romano-Frankish verse closes with phrase **Z'**, also emphatic, on 'meridiano'.

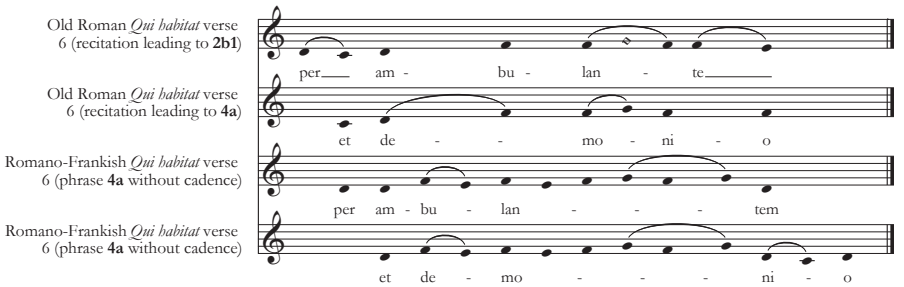
The battle theme continues in verse 7. 'Cadent' uses phrase **1f** in the Old Roman tradition, followed by phrase ***2** once again, this time further highlighted by using phrase ***2c** and, in the Old Roman tradition, the *comma* * material on 'a latere' is even more decorated than usual (see Example 51 on p. 69).

45 *Lan* is variant here, having the usual phrase **3** followed by phrase **4**.

46 R. T. Farrell, 'The Archer and Associated Figures on the Ruthwell Cross – A Reconsideration', in R. T. Farrell (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1978), 96–117: 107.

47 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 831.

48 Jerome, *Tractatus lix in Psalmos*, 128; see also Jerome, *Tractatuum in Psalmos series altera*, in *Opera pars II, opera homiletica*, ed. Germain Morin, CCSL 78 (Turnhout, 1958), 421.




EXAMPLE 73

The promises of God to protect the faithful man are directly connected in the Romano-Frankish tradition to the battle theme, since phrase *2 is used in the Romano-Frankish tradition in verse 12 on 'et ego exaudiam eum' ('and I will hear him') as well as on 'uolante' and 'a latere'. Emphasis of at least some words associated with the themes of protection and warfare is perhaps inevitable in a second-mode tract of this length. However, the chant melody gives these two themes more specific exegetical resonances. The Romano-Frankish tradition gives 'Cadent' a different emphasis than the Old Roman tradition. It uses phrase Z, also used at the end of the previous verse in the same tradition for '(et demonio) meridiano' (in a slightly different form, 'Z'); for all examples in this discussion, see Example 74.

Phrase Z is also used in verse 10 in the Old Roman tradition on 'leonem' and in both traditions on 'et draconem'. On 'leonem', the Romano-Frankish tradition uses the opening of the phrase 4b melisma with the phrase Z close – the cadence links the lion and the serpent.[49] Phrase Z is used in both traditions in verse 3 of the Psalm 90 [91] offertory *Scapulis suis* on the same day, on 'et draconem', preceded by the same phrase on 'leonem' in the Old Roman tradition. The offertory is apparently following the textual cue, connecting it into the same thematic/musical nexus.

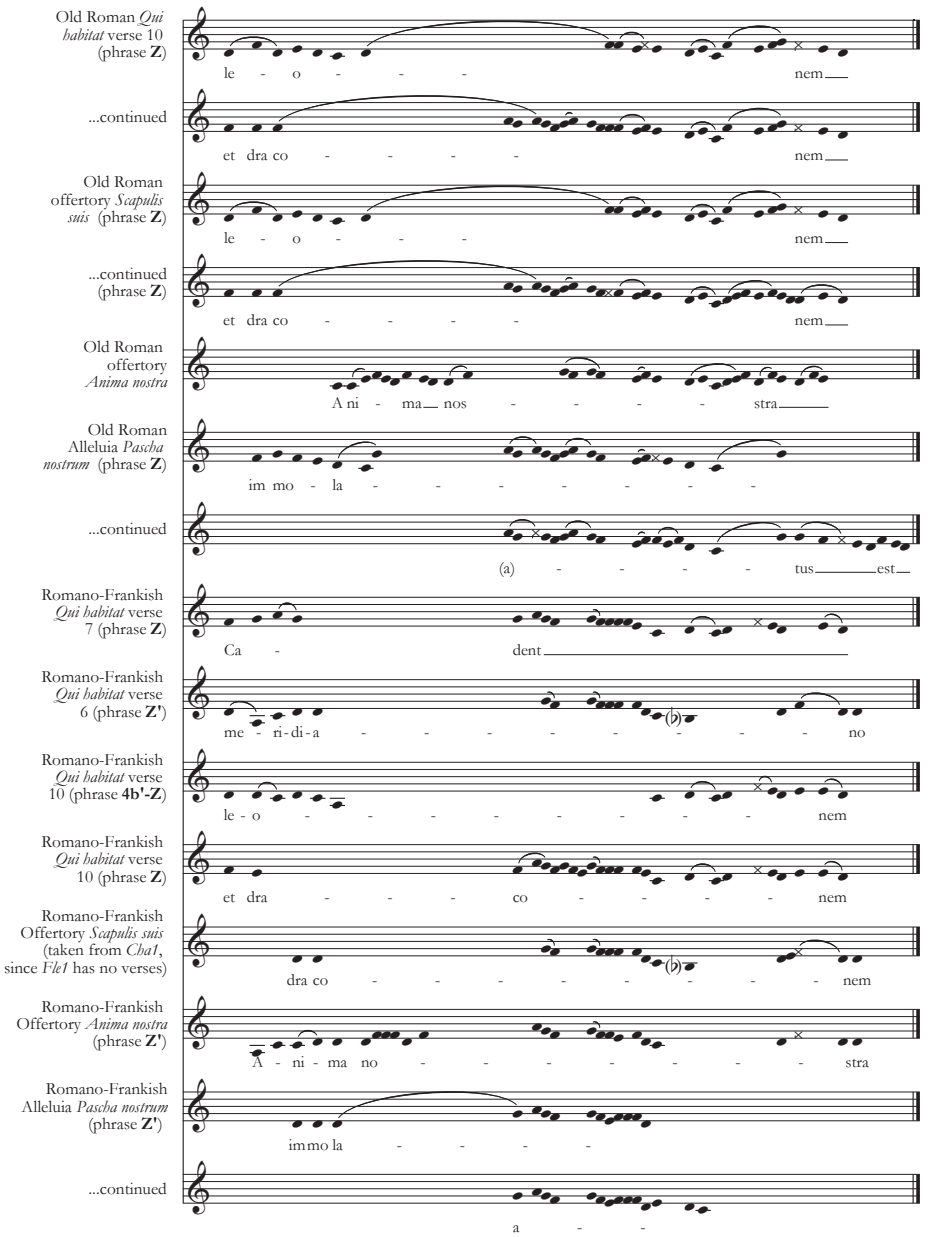
Lions, serpents and midday (the time for demonic attack in this psalm) all use the same melodic material. Demons are self-explanatory, and serpents almost so: they have been treated as allegories for the devil since the compilation of Genesis, and the Psalm 90 [91] serpent is evil in *Tituli Psalmorum* series 5[50] and in the commentaries. While biblical lions 'express strength, courage, and royal pride, they also stand for evil'.[51] 1 Peter 5: 8, used in daily Compline, compares the devil with the lion, and Augustine wrote on Psalm 49: 29: 'If he (the devil) is called lion due to his enormous ferocity, is not Christ called lion due to his immense strength?'[52] In *Tituli Psalmorum* series 5 it is not only the serpent but also the lion on whom the risen Christ stands, and the lion also uses phrase Z, or elements of it, in each tradition.

49 The verse half consists of a single clause, dividing not only after the verb but also between the two objects, which further punctuates and emphasises them.

50 Salmon, *'Tituli Psalmorum'*, 144.

51 Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler, 'Sketching Liturgical Archetypes: Hodie surrexit leo fortis', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (eds.), *De musica et cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, 1993), 157–202: 158.

52 Jacobsson and Treitler, 'Sketching Liturgical Archetypes', 158–60.




EXAMPLE 74

Therefore, three references to the devil in the tract *Qui habitat*, and one or two in the offertory on the same day, use the same musical material. By the use of the same music on 'Cadent', the triumph of the protagonist ('A thousand may fall at your right side but it will not come near you') is linked to that over which he prevails: the

devil. The figure of the devil continues to be important in the chant: in verse 10, the prophecy that the faithful man will tread on the snake and the basilisk (the basilisk is a further personification of the devil, and both are mentioned in the psalm collect, quoted above) is emphasised on the word 'ambulabis' ('you will tread') with phrase 2c. This verse half is a single clause comprising a prepositional phrase and a verb. There are divisions both before the verb and between the two nouns of the prepositional phrase, which helps to emphasise them.

A battle against the devil, personified in various forms, is characteristic of the monastic ideal. Augustine wrote 'let us therefore listen [to this psalm], that being instructed we may be able to resist the tempter').[53] It was in this spirit that Psalm 90 [91] was sung at monastic Compline every day, in preparation against the terrors of the night (verse 6). Every evening, Psalm 90 [91] will have reminded monastics of their kinship with Christ, who also withdrew from the world to do battle with the devil. However, on Quadragesima Sunday, it is not only temptation of which medieval Christians would be thinking, but also the Temptation. Without question, the second-mode tract *Qui habitat* refers to the Temptation, by virtue of its liturgical context, and because of the triple emphasis on the devil, battle, and God's protection of the faithful man who, in this reading, is Christ. As Cassiodorus writes, the narrative in verse 7 is about Christ, at whose side many will fall.[54]

Quadragesima Sunday was not the only context for the tract in the early Middle Ages, however. Until *c.* 850, when it was replaced by the newly composed *Eripe me* (on which see Chapter 6), *Qui habitat* was also sung on Good Friday between the reading of Exodus 12: 1–11[55] and that of the Passion according to St. John. The chant therefore appeared in prominent positions at both the beginning and end of Lent. Phrase Z has Passion resonances as well as Temptation ones. As Example 74 shows, it appears at the beginning of the Romano-Frankish offertory *Anima nostra* ('Our soul (has escaped from the snare of the fowler)'), which is associated with the feast of Holy Innocents and other martyrs.[56] The text parallels *Qui habitat*, verse 3 ('He has freed me from the snare of the hunters'). Psalm 123 [124], used for the offertory, is interpreted by Augustine as being about the triumph of the martyr's soul over death: the snare is the sweetness of earthly life, which God helps martyrs to escape.[57] Phrase Z is also used in the Easter day Alleluia, in both traditions:[58]

53 'Audiamus ergo, ut possimus instructi resistere tentatori'. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 1254.

54 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 832; see also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 1262.

55 Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes*', 54: 'FERIA VI UBI SUPRA lec li exodi. In diebus illis dixit dns ad moysen et aaron in terra aegipti mensis iste principium mensium primus erit in mensibus anni usq. Est enim phase id est transitus dni.' *Ordo Romanus* XXIII instead has a reading from Deuteronomy: Michel Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 24 (Leuven, 1951), 271.

56 See *AOFGC*, 94–5. The Old Roman phrase is also shown in Example 74 but, while there are similarities with phrase Z in the cadential melisma, the opening of the phrase is quite different.

57 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, 1833–4.

58 *AOFGC*, 74.

'(For Christ, our Passover Lamb, is) sacrificed'.[59]

Two possible interpretative directions, both of which appear in Jerome, are suggested by these musical resonances. Jerome comments on 'Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi' thus: 'he will be raised to the cross, extend his hands, and protect us'.[60] Elsewhere, Jerome again connects 'Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi' to the Crucifixion and immediately comments on 'et sub pennis eius separabis': '"All day long, I have stretched out my hands to an unbelieving and defiant people" (Romans 10: 21). 'The hands of the Lord lifted to heaven did not seek aid, but protected us wretches'.[61] Here, Christ protects mankind through the Crucifixion.

A different line of interpretation seems more pertinent to the tract however, given the Temptation resonances established above, in which it is Christ who does battle with the devil and is protected by God. Jerome writes that this psalm prophesies that God will protect Christ, hear him on the day of Crucifixion, resurrect him and give him eternal life.[62] In this reading, God is protecting Christ in his battle against the devil, which was not limited to the forty days in the desert: the devil's final gambit is described in Matthew 27: 42, where the crowds mock Jesus ('come down from the Cross, and we will believe in you'). The reading immediately before *Qui habitat* on Good Friday was Exodus 12: 1–11, the instructions given to the Israelites for observing the Passover and, of course, Christ's Passion is interpreted in Christian theology as being the ultimate Passover sacrifice which protects all believers. The combined melodic connections of the devil and battle themes with the Easter Day alleluia referring to Christ's sacrifice and the offertory for martyrs, together with the liturgical context of the chant and the close liturgical proximity of Exodus 12, suggest that Christ's martyrdom is the focus here. This does not preclude the participation of the faithful. 'The psalms, like no other book of the Bible, offered a unique opportunity to read oneself into the Scriptures',[63] and 'the same psalm ... could refer to biblical characters or to the congregation itself'.[64] In the (possibly spurious) *Sermon 45* of Maximus of Turin, the crucified Christ Triumphant is mentioned and, 'in Christ Jesus, let us trample on the snake and the basilisk'.[65] Through meditation on this tract text during the Good Friday liturgy, the faithful could participate, with Christ, in the triumph of his Passion.

It should be emphasised that multiple interpretations of a single text were viewed in the Middle Ages not as contradictions to be resolved but as paradoxes with the potential to enrich. The reading of Psalm 90 [91] in *Qui habitat* clearly places the tract as a Quadragesima chant, beginning the Lenten fast with a psalmic

59 1 Corinthians 5: 7–8.

60 'Exaltabitur in cruce, extendet manus, et proteget nos'. Jerome, *Tractatus lix in Psalmos*, 128.

61 'Tota die manus meas ad populum non credentem et contradictentem mihi' (Romans 10: 21). 'Manus Domini ad caelum levatae, non auxilium postulabant, sed nos miseros protegebant'. Jerome, *Tractatuum in Psalmos series altera*, 421.

62 Jerome, *Tractatus lix in Psalmos*, 132.

63 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 56, with extended discussion on pp. 53–63.

64 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 63.

65 'Calcemus super aspidem et basiliscum in Christo Jesu', Maximus of Turin, *Collectionem sermonum antiquam nonnullis sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*, ed. Armut Mutzenbecher, CCSL 23 (Turnhout, 1962), 182–3.

commemoration of Christ's battle with the devil at the Temptation. However, it is also a Good Friday chant. The melodic connection through phrase Z with the offertory for martyrs and, even more strikingly, with the Easter alleluia, draws one's gaze onwards to the Passion and Resurrection as the climax of the battle between Christ and the devil. This field of view is further hinted at in verse 9 of the tract, which Augustine asserts refers to Christ being lifted into heaven,[66] where the Old Roman tradition has *comma* Y to highlight the phrase stating that, with angels carrying him, the faithful man will never hit his foot 'on a stone' (referring to the tablets of stone, or the Old Testament law).[67] While Quadragesima may well have been the original assignment of the text, whose melody clearly reflects the Temptation, its melodic state as preserved in the musical sources appears to have been compiled with the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension also in mind.

### *Deus deus meus*

The text of Psalm 21 [22] is consistently interpreted in the Christian tradition as prophesying the Passion of Christ. This is the case, for example, in all six of the *Tituli Psalmorum* series,[68] and most of Arnobius's commentary on the psalm constitutes a description of the Passion using the psalm's prophetic sentences.[69] The Roman psalm collect translates as: 'God, fount of mercy, descending for our sake into the womb, assigned to the cross, pierced by the nail, clothes moreover divided by lots, you who rose free from the underworld, we pray that you will not be unmindful of this contract, snatcher of the people from the lion's mouth, you who were once a liberator for our fathers who put their hope in you'.[70] Once again the Passion is a central theme, and the compiler of the collect has paraphrased some parts of the psalm which relate to the prophecy of the Passion ('vestimentis insuper sorte divisis') and to Christ as liberator of the faithful from the lion's mouth ('ore leonis', 'patribus in te sperantibus', 'liberator').

As one might expect, Psalm 21 [22] has long been associated with Passion Sunday, one week before Easter. Psalm 21 [22] is cited in five of the fifth-century Pope Leo's sermons for Passion Sunday, although not specifically as a tract, and five Augustine sermons and one by Maximus of Turin (d. 408 or 423) also refer to Psalm 21 [22] in connection with this day.[71] The psalm was used in the medieval liturgy to provide the text for the Passion Sunday introit *Domine ne longe* as well as the tract, and a prophecy

66 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 1273–4.

67 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 834; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 1275.

68 Salmon, '*Tituli Psalmorum*', 57, 83, 101, 122, 139 and 157.

69 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 28–9. See Appendix 5 for the extent to which the commentary paraphrases the psalm.

70 'Caput misericordiae Deus, qui propter nos descendens in utero, addictus ligno, perfossus clavo, vestimentis insuper sorte divisis, surrexisti liber ab inferis, precamur ut hujus commercii non immemor sis, populi ab ore leonis ereptor, qui fuisti quondam patribus in te sperantibus liberator': Salmon, '*Tituli Psalmorum*', 127; also in Wilmart and Brou, *The Psalter Collects*, 180.

71 Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 65. The sermons by Pope Leo the Great are edited in *Romani pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. Antoine Chavasse, CCSL 138 and 138A (Turnhout, 1973). Those by Maximus of Turin are in *Collectionem sermonum antiquam*, CCSL 23.

TABLE 10. Emphatic phrases in *Deus deus meus*

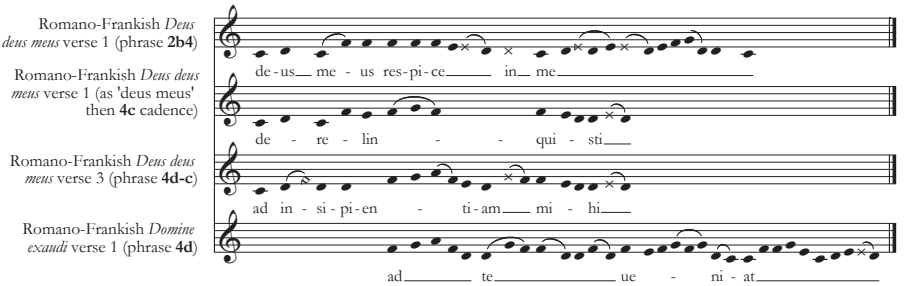
| VERSE | TEXT | TRANSLATION | EMPHATIC MELODY |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'Deus' | 'God' | **0b** (R-F) |
| 1 | 'deus meus respice in me' | 'my God, look at me' | **2b4** (OR, R-F) |
| 1 | 'dereliquisti' | 'you have forsaken' | recitation–**4a–c** (R-F) |
| 2 | 'uerba delictorum' | 'the words of [my] faults' | **1a** material (twice) |
| 3 | 'Deus meus' | 'My God' | **1e** (OR, R-F) |
| 3 | 'clamabo per diem' | 'I will cry out through the day' | * (OR, R-F) |
| 3 | 'nec exaudies' | 'and you will not hear' | **2b4** (OR) |
| 3 | 'ad insipientiam mihi' | 'through my folly' | **4d–c** (R-F) |
| 4 | 'laus israhel' | 'the praise of Israel' | **Z–1a** (R-F);<br>**1a–Z** (OR) |
| 5 | 'In te sperauerunt' | 'In you have trusted' | *syllaba* **W** (R-F) |
| 5 | 'patres nostri' | 'our fathers' | **2c** (OR) |
| 6 | 'Ad te clamauerint' | 'To you they cried' | **X** (R-F) |
| 7 | 'sum uermis et non homo' | '[I] am a worm and not a man' | **2d** (R-F);<br>**2c** (OR) |
| 8 | 'Omnes' | 'All' | *syllaba* **W** (OR, R-F) |
| 8 | 'aspernabantur me' | 'mocked me' | **2d** (R-F);<br>**2c** (OR) |
| 9 | 'Sperauit in domino' | 'He trusted in the Lord' | *syllaba* **V** (R-F);<br>*syllaba* **W–1d** (OR) |
| 10 | 'Ipsi uero considerauerunt et conspexerunt me' | 'For truly they examined and looked at me | no text division (OR, R-F);<br>*syllaba* **W** (once in OR, twice in R-F) |
| 10 | 'diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea' | 'divided my clothes between them' | extra text division, **4b–4c** (R-F) |
| 11 | 'Libera me' | 'Free me' | **1f** (OR, R-F) |
| 11 | 'de ore leonis' | 'from the lion's mouth' | *'**2d** (R-F);<br>***2a** (OR) |
| 11 | 'et a cornibus unicornuorum' | 'and from the unicorns' horns' | *comma* * (R-F) |
| 13 | 'generatio uentura' | 'the generation to come' | *comma* * (OR);<br>*syllaba* **W–2a1** (R-F) |
| 14 | 'Populo' | 'to the people' | *comma* **Y** (R-F);<br>**1a–Z** (OR) |

of the Passion is also present in the Offertory text *Improperium expectauit*, which includes Psalm 68 [69]: 22 ('they gave me vinegar when I was thirsty'). It comes as no surprise that the melodic state of *Deus deus meus* reflects the widespread interpretation of the text as a prophecy of the Passion. The opening psalm verses and the section describing the protagonist's suffering have been widely read as prophesying the Passion – indeed, the Gospel accounts of the Passion are generally acknowledged to have been closely modelled on Psalm 21 [22].[72]

72 Some argue, of course, that the events occurred in direct historical fulfilment of prophecy

On the Cross, Jesus quoted the first verse of Psalm 21 [22]: 'God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' (Matthew 27: 46).[73] The vocative 'Deus' is emphasised in the Romano-Frankish tradition; it has the most repetitive and decorated opening phrase in the genre (see Example 41 on p. 60), and is separated from the rest of the sentence.[74] The complete following sentence is joined into a single phrase **2b4**, with unique and very syllabic recitation on 'Deus meus' in the Romano-Frankish tradition (see Example 46 on p. 65); the Old Roman tradition also uses this phrase for 'nec exaudies' ('and you will not hear') in verse 3. The renewed vocative cry 'Deus meus' which opens verse 3 is strongly emphasised in both traditions by using phrase **1e** followed by *comma* *. The Old Roman verse 2 has phrase **1a** on 'Longe' ('far') and elements of the phrase on 'uerba' and 'delictorum', so that the distance between the protagonist's suffering and his salvation is emphasised.

At the end of verse 1, the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **4a** but the Romano-Frankish 'dereliquisti' opens by echoing the recitation on 'deus meus', thus musically unifying the cry of despair (see Example 75). '-liquisti' begins with *EFGF*, familiar from phrase **4a**, used there as here on the syllable before the last accent, followed by the final *FED DEED* of phrase **4c**. A melodic shape cognate with the Romano-Frankish *EFGF* (in the Old Roman phrase **4a** this is *EFGFGFEFED*) may well have prompted the Old Roman cantors to use the standard phrase **4a** here within the oral transmission, losing the emphatic shape. The *FED DEED* Romano-Frankish cadence is used again in verse 3, after the phrase **4d** opening, connecting the folly of the protagonist, the stated reason for God's lack of help, to God's abandonment of him in verse 1.




EXAMPLE 75

Much of the central section of the psalm is reflected in the Passion narrative. Verse 8 begins 'All who saw me mocked me', seen in Christian exegesis as prefiguring the taunting of Jesus in Matthew 27: 39–44, as Cassiodorus reminds us,[75] and

rather than that the compilation of the Gospel narrative was affected by the need to demonstrate as much fulfilment of Jewish prophecy as possible. For an example of the former approach, see Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Sheffield, 1983).

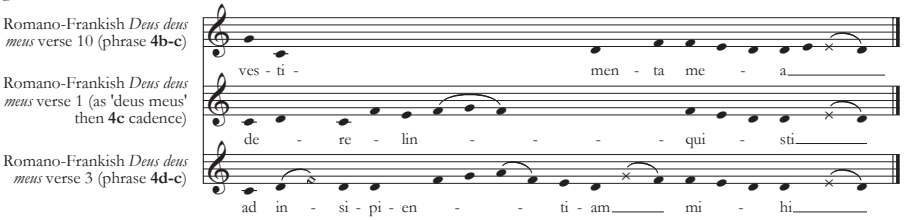
73 As noted by Jerome, *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, in *Opera pars I, opera exegetica*, ed. Germain Morin, CCSL 72, 198.

74 The Old Roman tradition has the usual, stereotyped, phrase **0a**.

75 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum I–LXX*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97 (Turnhout, 1958), 194.

the mockery is emphasised by use of phrases **2c** (Old Roman) and **2d** (Romano-Frankish) on 'aspernabantur me', and by connecting 'Omnes' to its relative clause by using *syllaba* **W** rather than a separate phrase. Verse 9 parallels Matthew 27: 43: 'He hoped in the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him if he delights in him'.[76] In the Romano-Frankish tradition 'Speravit in domino' uses *syllaba* **V**, oscillating between *F-G-F-D*. The non-melismatic recitation and the avoidance of a cadence, thus presenting the entire sentence as a single unit, serve to emphasise the direct speech. The Old Roman tradition equally clearly enunciates the opening of this verse with *syllaba* **W** before it uses phrase **1d** on 'in domino', following the text cue.

The scrutiny and division of clothes prophesied in verse 10 is interpreted in Christian theology as having been fulfilled in Matthew 27: 35.[77] The first compound sentence of verse 10 is treated as a single unit, beginning once again with the clearly enunciating *syllaba* **W** on 'Truly', used for a second time later in the sentence in the Romano-Frankish tradition, and identifying verse 10 with the prophetic discourse of verses 8 and 9. The Romano-Frankish tradition has an extra text division in the second half of the verse, not only between the clauses but also after the verb and subject of the first clause. There is a strong punctuation, therefore, of 'diuiserunt sibi/ uestimenta mea', a crucial portion of text also highlighted in *Tituli Psalmorum* series 5 and in the psalm collect (quoted on p. 95). The Romano-Frankish melody connects the division of the clothes to God's abandonment of the psalmist in the early verses of the chant, through use of the same *FED DEED* cadence (see Example 76).




EXAMPLE 76

In verse 7, 'sum vermis et non homo' is joined into a single phrase, against the sense, and uses the decorated phrase **2c** in the Old Roman tradition and **2d** in the Romano-Frankish tradition. In the early Middle Ages, the Roman epistle for Passion Sunday, according to the Würzburg *Comes*, was taken from St Paul's letter to the Philippians, 2: 6–11.[78] This reading reminds listeners that Christ 'made himself nothing, assuming the nature of a slave . . . he humbled himself . . . therefore God raised him to the heights'. Verse 7 of the tract is a vivid reminder of Christ's humiliation: 'I am a worm and not a man', an idea reflected in *Tituli Psalmorum* series 3,

76 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum I–LXX*, 194.

77 It is discussed in this vein, for example, by Pope Leo in Sermon LV, CCSL 138A, 323–7.

78 'DOMINICA INDULGENTIA AD LATERANIS lec epi be pauli apo ad pilipenses. Hoc enim sentite in uobis quod est in xpo ihu usq. Quia xps his est in gloria dei patris': Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes*', 53–4.

and the emphasis of this text may be a reflection of the related Epistle on Passion Sunday. The relevance of this verse to a Passion interpretation of the psalm may be seen in Sermon 29 of Maximus of Turin, it being one of the three extracts he quotes and discusses in detail, along with 'Deus deus meus respice in me' and 'diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea'.[79]

Verse 11 is treated with great emphasis, particularly in the Romano-Frankish tradition. The plea 'Libera me' uses the emphatic phrase **1f**, which rises to *b*♭, the high point of the tessitura. The following text, 'de ore leonis', is emphasised in the Romano-Frankish tradition by use of phrase *'**2d**, and in the Old Roman tradition by use of *comma* ***2a**. The 'lion' is variously interpreted in this context: while Augustine describes the lion's mouth as 'the mouth of the kingdom of this world', the lion is often a metaphor for the devil.[80] The second verse half begins 'et a cornibus unicornuorum'. While unicorns usually symbolise the purity of Christ in Christian exegesis, the horns of the unicorns are interpreted in this psalm as 'the loftiness of the proud, exalting themselves to special pre-eminence',[81] or as a metaphor for the Cross, as in *Concerning the Passover* by Claudius Apollinaris, second-century bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor.[82] The text 'et a cornibus' begins with *comma* * in the Romano-Frankish tradition, making a strong connection between the mouth (of the lion) and the horns (of the unicorns), supporting the parallel interpretation of both as threats here.[83]

The call for deliverance in verse 11 was clearly important on Passion Sunday, appearing also as the verse of the introit *Domine ne longe*. In Augustine's reading of the psalm, it is Christ crying for liberation from the kingdom of this world and the loftiness of the proud. The Passion Sunday communion chant gives the plea further resonances: its text is *Pater si non potest*, taken from Matthew 26: 42 ('Father if it is not possible for this cup to pass from me without my drinking it, thy will be done').[84] The highlight of the Passion Sunday liturgy was the reading of the complete Passion narrative (Matthew 26: 2 to 27: 66), which includes Jesus's Gethsemane plea for deliverance.[85] The musical emphasis of verse 11 of the tract connects

79 Maximus of Turin, Sermon 29, CCSL 23, 112–15.

80 See, for example, Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum I–LXX*, 202; see also the discussion on p. 91.

81 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 128.

82 'The fourteenth day, the true Passover of the Lord; the great sacrifice, the Son of God instead of the lamb, who was bound, who bound the strong, and who was judged, though Judge of living and dead, and who was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified, who was lifted up on the horns of the unicorn, and who was pierced in His holy side, who poured forth from His side the two purifying elements, water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the Passover, the stone being placed upon the tomb'. Quoted from <http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Ante-Nicene_Fathers >.

83 The Old Roman tradition instead uses *comma* **X**, also found in *Qui habitat* verse 3 on 'et a verbo', following the text cue of 'et a'.

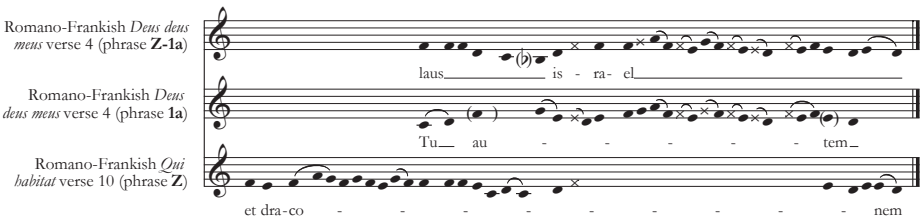
84 This text appears alongside a quotation from Psalm 21 [22] in Pope Leo's Sermon 67, preached on Passion Sunday 454. CCSL 138A, 413.

85 *Ebdomada VI die Dominico ad Lateranis: Legitur passio domini scd. Matth. Cap. CCLXXIIII.* Theodore Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, 23 (for the oldest reading; the other manuscripts are consistent with it).

it to its wider liturgical and theological context as a Passion Sunday chant referring to the garden of Gethsemane.

God's salvation of the faithful is a recurring theme in Psalm 21 [22], a promise which reassures the protagonist in his suffering. Verse 5 turns to the faithful of the past.[86] The Romano-Frankish tradition ties together the text of the first verse half, a simple sentence, using *syllaba* **W** and then phrase **2a1** (probably because of the text cue of 'nostri') which uses the same repeated *F* recitation as *syllaba* **W**. The Old Roman tradition has the decorated phrase **2c** on 'patres nostri'. Verse 6 lists God's help to 'our fathers', starting 'ad te clamaverunt' ('to you they cried'). While the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **1d** following the text cue of 'In te speraverunt' in the previous verse, the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase **X**, used in *Qui habitat* to tie together the trust of the psalmist in God with God's promise of deliverance and long life; the cry of the ancestors is perhaps contextualised as a trusting cry to a God who intervenes on behalf of the faithful.

The praise of God by the faithful is first present in verse 4. While 'Tu autem in sancto habitas' ('You, however, live in the holy place') might have continued describing God's forsaking of the protagonist, at 'laus israhel' the move to praise of God becomes explicit. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, 'laus is-' uses a fragment of phrase **Z** and '-hel' uses the phrase **1a** melisma with an extra cadential *ED* at the end (see Example 77).[87]




EXAMPLE 77

On 'laus', the Old Roman tradition begins with the phrase **1a** opening and the *GFEDFED* cadential figure seen also at the beginnings of verses in phrases **1b**, **1g** and **1f**,[88] followed by the phrase **Z** melisma (see Example 49 on p. 67). One of the two traditions seems to have transposed the cue for this composite phrase. Since the Romano-Frankish tradition begins with a fragment from the middle of a phrase, this seems most likely to be original rather than being interpolated after the division of the traditions, with the Old Roman version having shifted to beginning with the more easily remembered verse-opening figure used at the beginning of the same verse. The strong Romano-Frankish melismatic connection to phrase **1a** ties together the whole verse in a striking manner which transcends the usual formal functions of the formulae, making the direction of Israel's praise very clear. Supporting the hypothesis that the Old Roman tradition changed on this occasion is the fact that, apart from here, phrase **Z** is used for a nexus of thematically related

86 'Patribus in te sperantibus', from the psalm collect, quoted on p. 95.
87 See Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 8, 20.
88 *Orc* has an open cadence.

texts. There is no clear textual stimulus for its use here and it may instead indicate an adaptation to a more typical formal structure – phrase **1a** is otherwise unheard of at the end of a verse; phrase **Z** is not.

Verse 13 turns to the future, to the announcement of God's justice to the generation to come. This may easily be interpreted as referring to the generation present at the time of the singing or reading of the psalm, as in Arnobius's commentary: 'The generation to come: that is, let us think of the future glory of the saints, and let us announce God's justice to the brothers and sons and, in every age, to the people who will be born'.[89] 'Generatio' uses *comma* * in the Old Roman tradition. The Romano-Frankish tradition uses *syllaba* **W** followed by phrase **2a1**, which also uses the repeated *F* recitation, underlining the text. In verse 14, 'Populo' uses *comma* **Y** in the Romano-Frankish tradition, which may focus the minds of the listeners at the end of the chant on the relevance of these prophecies and signs to them, the present generation, and to those to come; the presence of a verse division here, against the psalm divisions and against the syntax also serves to emphasise the moment. The Old Roman tradition uses phrase **1a–Z** on 'Populo', making a connection between the people to whom justice will be announced and Israel, which praised God in verse 4.

Augustine, having discussed the psalm as Christ's 'eloquent prophecy of the humiliation of his Passion', citing the pierced hands and feet, the counting of the bones, the scrutiny, the division of clothes and casting of lots, writes that 'there are other sayings in the psalm which are less clear in their meaning, but these are rightly understood when they are interpreted in a manner consistent with those passages which shine forth with such great clarity'.[90] *Deus deus meus* is a Passion chant, and the musical setting reflects that exegetical emphasis, but there is also an emphasis on the faithful of the pre-Christian past and those who benefit from the Passion in the present and future.

### *Domine exaudi*

The petitions of the opening verses are a central aspect of the psalm and are mirrored in the psalm collect, in which the prayer of the faithful to a merciful God is also central. The psalm collect translates as 'God who can be entreated, attend to the prayers of your supplicants, that we who are held by sin as if withered like grass may be lifted up by contemplating the heavenly mercy'.[91] Cassiodorus writes that the petitions of Psalm 101 [102] use a standard rhetorical figure 'called *epimone* in Greek and *repetitio* in Latin, when the same statement is repeatedly made in

89 'Generatio ventura: id est futuram sanctorum gloriam cogitemus. Et adnuntiemus iustitiam dei fratribus ac filiis aetate et omni populo qui nascetur': Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 29.

90 Augustine, *City of God*, 808.

91 'Exorabilis domine intende in orationem supplicum tuorum, ut qui in peccatis detenti tamquam faenum aruimus, respectu caelestis misericordiae subleuemur': Wilmart and Brou, *The Psalter Collects*, 206. The words 'faenum aruimus' and 'orationem' are paraphrased from the part of the psalm used in the second-mode tract.

Table 11. Emphatic phrases in *Domine exaudi*

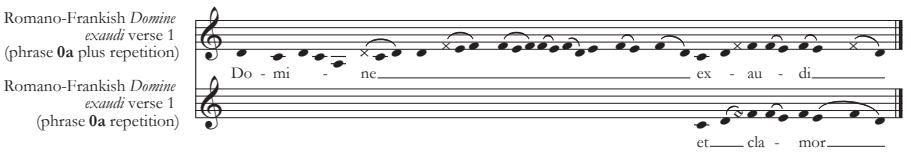
| VERSE | TEXT | TRANSLATION | EMPHATIC MELODY |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'Domine exaudi' | 'Lord hear' | repetition and punctuation after each word (OR, R-F) |
| 1 | 'et clamor meus' | 'and [let] my cry' | link to 'exaudi' (R-F) |
| 3 | 'In quacumque die' | 'On whatever day' | **1a 1a** cadence (OR) |
| 3 | 'inuocauero te' | 'I shall have called you' | ***2b** (OR); **2b2–c'** (R-F) |
| 3 | 'uelociter exaudi me (domine)' | 'quickly hear me (Lord)' | **3–unique** (R-F); *comma* **Y, 4a–f** (OR) |
| 4 | 'dies mei' | 'my days' | **2c** (OR, R-F) |
| 4 | 'sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt' | 'have been fried as if in a frying pan' | **4e–f** (R-F) |
| 5 | 'manducare panem meum' | 'to eat my bread' | **4f–a–f** (R-F) |
| 6 | 'Tu exurgens domine' | 'You, rising Lord' | **1b** with high recitation (OR, R-F) |
| 6 | 'misereberis Sion' | 'will have mercy on Sion' | **1g 2c** (R-F); ***2b** (OR) |

different words',[92] and these repetitions are highlighted by the tract melody. The opening petition is punctuated in both traditions by the presence of a cadence on *D* on each of 'domine' and 'exaudi', the second of which is simpler, revisiting the goal-tones of the previous melisma in abbreviated form (see Example 41 on p. 60). This internal repetition unifies the opening petition as a single entity, as does the division against the syntax: the vocative plus imperative verb is divided from the object, rather than the vocative being divided from the clause. Most Romano-Frankish manuscripts do not indicate a cadential pause on either 'Domine' or 'exaudi', instead having joined-up neumes (clives or longer strings), and *Gal1* in fact has c (= *celeriter*, quickly) over the final neumes of '-ne' and '-di'. *Pas2* has a pressus on '-ne' and *Cha1* and *Fle1* have one on '-di', a sign often seen at cadences. The cadential shapes indicate an enunciating pause after each word, more exaggerated in traditions like those of *Pas2*, *Fle1* and *Cha1*, while the significative letter c's in *Gal1* and the joined-up neumes in many manuscripts maintain the flow through the whole sense unit 'Lord, hear my prayer'.

The second petition, 'et clamor meus ad te (per)veniat', uses phrases **3a** and **4a–f** in the Old Roman tradition, as one would expect. The Romano-Frankish tradition instead has melodic shapes on 'et clamor' which are identical (or closely related, in some manuscripts) to those on 'exaudi' (see Example 78).

The psalmist's cry is thus musically linked with God's hearing. The phrase ends with the **3c** cadence usually associated with final verses, although it is differentiated from the usual shape by having an extra note at the beginning,[93] a slightly different approach to the cadence,[94] and often a unique performance practice.[95] The

92 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 900.
93 *CR*, 54, no. 16.
94 'me-' has a fall to *F* after the high point G. *CR*, 53 no. 15.
95 Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant', 435–6.




EXAMPLE 78

connection with 'exaudi', plus the unique treatment of the phrase, emphasises the repetition which 'shows the feeling of the suppliant'.[96] Cassiodorus wrote that this second prayer grows out of the first: 'first he places *orationem*, now he adds *clamorem*; in order that you may realise that the zeal of his supplication has increased, his prayer has erupted into the loudest cry.'[97]

To give emphatic music to every one of the invocations in the first three verses would undermine its effect and, indeed, after 'et clamor meus' only the last invocation is highlighted. The Romano-Frankish tradition ties together the whole first verse half (a relative clause) as a single unit by avoiding a complete cadence on 'In quacumque die'. Phrase ***2** is used for 'inuocauero te' in the Old Roman tradition, and the expected phrase **2b2** opening in the Romano-Frankish tradition before shapes from the emphatic phrase **2c** cadence (see Example 32 on p. 54). In the second verse half, there is no text division. In this, the main clause of the sentence, the Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **3** material with no cadence on 'uelociter', and the Old Roman uses *comma* **Y**, revisiting the tessitura and unfilled *C-A* leap of the opening invocation, and therefore linking to it. Where before the text was 'hear me, Lord', now it is '*quickly* (hear me (Lord))', and use of the same tessitura musically intensifies the meaning of the opening invocation. The Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **3** shapes on 'uelociter' although the usual association of melodic patterns with syllables is entirely lost, and the opening of the phrase is omitted entirely.[98] The cadence at the end is missing, with *F F* on '-citer' leading straight into the next phrase, and the adverb is therefore strongly connected to the following verb. While the Romano-Frankish use of phrase **3** material (albeit without cadence) is more formulaic than the Old Roman connection to the opening phrase, both are emphatic.

The petition ends 'exaudi me' in the psalters and also in the Romano-Frankish version of the chant. 'Domine' seems to have been added in the Old Roman version (see p. 14). This hypothesis is supported by the musical state of the chant in the two traditions. While the Romano-Frankish tract has an emphatic and unique melody on 'exaudi me' (see Example 79),[99] the Old Roman tradition has phrase

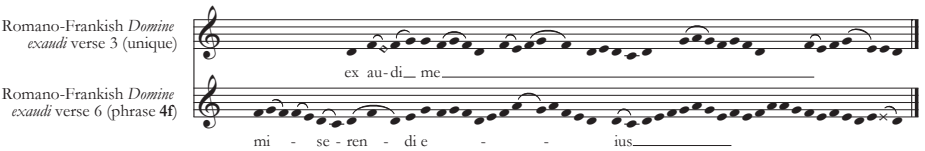
96 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, 1427.

97 'Primo enim posuit *orationem*, nunc adiecit *clamorem*; ut studia supplicationis creuisse cognosceres, cuius orationem in clamorem maximum propurisse sentires': Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum LXXI–CL*, 899.

98 This is transcribed with phrase **3a** in Appendix 4.

99 Karp gives an example showing the stability of the Romano-Frankish phrase, but hypothesises that its unique shape may be a response to the accent pattern: 'here the final accented syllable appears at an earlier point than elsewhere. Perhaps this is why the phrase is the most individual' (see *AOFGC*, 39–42).

**4a–f** on 'exaudi me domine', just as in the other verses of the chant, but omitting the opening flourish and therefore treating the first word as accentually unimportant. The Old Roman tradition may well have lost an emphatic phrase when the textual parallel of verse 1 'Domine exaudi' with 'exaudi me domine' was introduced: the melodic shapes of the Romano-Frankish 'exaudi me' have roughly the same outline as phrase **4f** (see Example 79) and it is possible that a unique phrase moved towards the more stereotyped version in the Old Roman tradition.




EXAMPLE 79

The series of invocations is without doubt emphasised musically, but the question remains: who is calling to God? There is more than one interpretation of this text in the exegetical tradition. As well as *Tituli Psalmorum* series 2 and 6, Jerome, Arnobius and Cassiodorus identified the protagonist of Psalm 101 [102] as being the faithful, weighed down by sin.[100] While Augustine concurred with the reading of the opening of the psalm as a lamentation by the sinful church, he also thought that the poor man crying for help was Christ, who humbled himself even to death on the cross.[101] This is reflected in the *Tituli Psalmorum* first series and, even more clearly, in the third: 'the voice of Christ at the Passion, and in general the one who is enacting penitence of all saints in temptation, and the prophet speaks of the vocation of the church'.[102] This second reading is explicitly present in the Holy Wednesday liturgy since the introit antiphon is taken from Philippians 2 ('Heaven, earth and hell shall bow at the name of the Lord, because the Lord was obedient even unto death on the cross, Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father') and the introit verse is taken from Psalm 101 [102]: 1 ('Lord hear my prayer and let my cry come to you'). The gradual respond uses a text almost drawn from Psalm 101 [102]: 'do not avert your face from your Son; quickly hear me for I am in tribulation'.[103] The insertion of 'puero tuo' makes explicit a Passion interpretation of the text and the second Old Testament reading (Isaiah 53: 1–11), which immediately precedes *Domine exaudi* in the Holy Wednesday Mass, is a prophecy of the blameless Christ's Passion and Resurrection. The Gospel reading in the Holy Wednesday Mass is the Passion according to St Luke.[104] It therefore seems likely that the emphasised invocations in *Domine exaudi* are intended, in the context of the Holy Wednesday liturgy, to be heard as the invocations of the suffering Christ.

100 See, for example, Jerome, *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, 228, Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 148–50.

101 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, 1425–50.

102 Salmon, *'Tituli Psalmorum'*, 107.

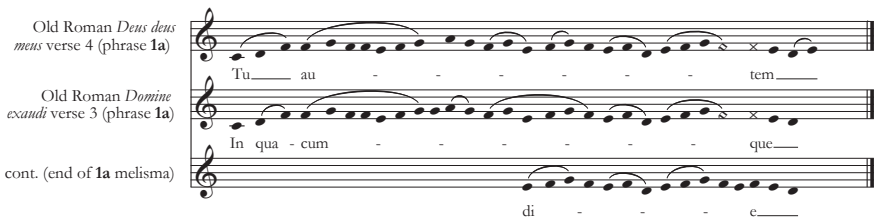
103 'ne avertas faciem tuam a [puero tuo], quoniam tribulor velociter exaudi me'.

104 Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, 23 (for the oldest reading; the other manuscripts are consistent with it).

As noted above, Cassiodorus wrote that repetition is an important element of this psalm text, and the tract melody highlights the textual repetitions, particularly the threefold ones. Repetition of an important phrase is found also in the Old Roman gradual for the same day, which includes the text 'Ne avertas faciem tuam a me ne avertas faciem tuam a me' and, as discussed above, the Old Roman tract has the word 'Domine' not twice, but three times.

'Sicut' occurs three times in the part of the psalm used in the tract. The first and third appearances, near the beginnings of verses 4 and 5, use exactly the same music, despite this not being what one would expect, given the syntactical context (see p. 31). This may be a response to the text cue rather than a rhetorical emphasis. The second appearance of 'sicut' is near the end of verse 4. While the Old Roman tradition uses phrase **4a–f** as usual for this tract, the Romano-Frankish tradition has a hybrid phrase, combining the phrase **4e** opening with the long phrase **4f** cadence (see Example 38 on p. 57). This hybrid phrase may have been original to the chant, or may represent a move towards standard shapes from a unique phrase in this position. The centonised phrase, or the hypothetical unique one it replaced, may emphasise the second repetition of 'sicut', or was perhaps a Frankish means of marking the departure of 'sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt' from the more familiar Gallican Psalter text 'sicut gremium aruerunt', in a way similar to that found in *Domine audiui* (see pp. 21–2) or on 'manducare panem meum' in verse 5.[105]

The tract also has a three-fold repetition of 'die(s)'. The first two occurrences use phrase **3**, usually with an incomplete cadence, in the Romano Frankish tradition, following the text cue (see p. 76). In the Old Roman tradition, 'in quacumque' in verse 3 uses phrase **1a**, and 'die' repeats the end of the melisma (see Example 80).



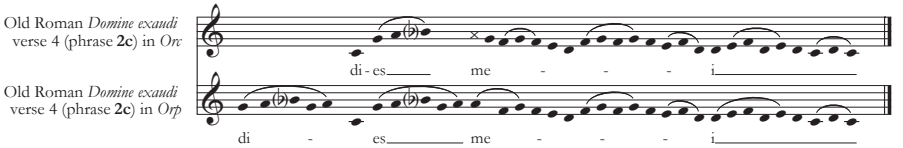

EXAMPLE 80

This may be a response to the accent pattern: in phrase **1a**, the first main accent (usually the third syllable) cues the cadential melisma, and having treated '-cum-' as the main accent, three more syllables needed fitting in rather than just one.

105 In verse 5, 'manducare panem meum' receives the formally expected phrase in the Old Roman tradition. In most Romano-Frankish manuscripts a hybrid phrase is used, which begins and ends like phrase **4f** but interpolates the *EFGFG* figure before the final melisma. In phrase **4e** this figure appears on the last accent; here it appears on the syllable before the final accent as in phrase **4a** and in fact some manuscripts end the phrase with the **4a** cadence, following the obvious musical cue as well as the textual cues of other possessive pronouns ending phrase **4a** (for example, *Ben5*, *Bre*, *Clu1*, *Lan*, *Mog4* and *Pas2*. *Tyr* uses the phrase **4b** cadence, but this is isolated). It is possible that this hybrid phrase was used in order to draw attention to the departure from the Gallican Psalter text 'comedere panem meum'.

Alternatively, it may be a way of emphasising through musical repetition the second hearing of 'die(s)'.

The third appearance of 'die(s)' uses the emphatic phrase **2c** in both traditions. The phrase is even more exaggerated than usual in *Orp*, as may be seen in Example 81.




EXAMPLE 81

The emphatic treatment of the third 'day' may be an oblique reference to the Resurrection, particularly within the liturgical context of *Domine exaudi*. As mentioned above, the preceding reading on Holy Wednesday is from Isaiah 53, a prophecy of the Passion and Resurrection. The verse of the gradual *Ne avertas*, which precedes Isaiah 53, is taken from Psalm 68 [69]: 1–3, in which the drowning man calls to God for salvation. Augustine interpreted Psalm 68 [69] as prophesying the Passion and Resurrection,[106] and it therefore resonates with Isaiah 53. In this context, and bearing in mind that *Tituli Psalmorum* series 1 connects the psalm to the Resurrection, it is very possible that the use of phrase **2c** on the third 'die(s)' also makes reference to it.

The last verse of the tract is verse 14 of the psalm. This is neither the psalm verse following 'manducare panem meum' nor the last one. It is also used on Holy Wednesday as an offertory verse and within the communion respond,[107] and is central to the liturgical themes of the day. The opening of the tract verse, 'Tu exurgens domine', is a clear reference in this context to the risen Christ. Only the tract uses 'domine' here; the other chants, like the psalm, just have 'tu exurgens'; 'domine', clarifying the referent, appears in the preceding verse of the psalm.[108] One might expect 'Tu exurgens domine' to use phrase **1d**, the version associated with phrases ending 'domin-'. Instead both traditions use phrase **1b**, associated with an ante-penultimate accent, with recitation on G on 'exurgens do-'. The association of this phrase with three words is otherwise unheard of. Instead of using the oscillating phrase **1d** phrase, the high recitation on G in a generally neumatic and melismatic chant gives definition to the crucial text 'You, rising Lord'.

Sion was generally understood exegetically as being the Church (in Psalm 101 [102], according to Jerome, Arnobius and Cassiodorus, the faithful are looking forward to God's imminent mercy on the Sion, the Church). The first Old Testament reading in the Holy Wednesday Mass is from Isaiah 62: 11 to 63: 7.[109] This passage

106 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, 900–30; especially 907–8.

107 The offertory is certainly Roman in origin, but the verse 'Tu exurgens' may have been added independently in the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions. Rebecca Maloy, personal communication, 21 July 2008.

108 *Mon6* and *Coc6* are exceptions, having the word 'Domine' in the offertory verse.

109 'FERIA IIII AD SCA MARIA lec lib essaiae profe. Haec dicit dns dicite filiae sion ecce saluator tuus et mercis eius cum eo quis est iste qui uenit de edom usq. Laudem dni super omnia

looks forward to the coming day of Sion's salvation: the daughter of Sion is told that her deliverance has come; God's wrath on the day of judgement is described; and an assurance is given of His unfailing love. In the tract, 'misereberis sion' is emphasised in both traditions. The Old Roman tradition has the emphatic *comma* * recitation on 'misereberis', linking it back to 'invocavero te', and suggesting that the Lord will have mercy on the faithful who made the invocations in the opening verses and catalogued their sufferings under the weight of sin, that is, on Sion, the church. The Romano-Frankish tradition has phrase **1g** on 'misereberis', connecting the verb closely to its subject, the Risen Christ, rather than dividing the subject from the predicate, and then has the decorated phrase **2c** on Sion. As in the Old Roman version, but more dramatically, the Romano-Frankish chant emphasises the moment when the exegetical connection with the first reading from Isaiah in the day's Mass is made explicit.

The text moves directly from the naming of Sion to an assertion that the day of judgement, or of mercy, is imminent, and the victorious Christ sitting in judgement is connected to Psalm 101 [102] in the fifth series of *Tituli Psalmorum*. The text which begins the second verse-half, 'quia venit tempus', is repeated as 'quia tempus uenit' in the Old Roman tract and also in the offertory.[110] The Old Roman tract has the same music on both occasions, and the repetition, while paralleling other textual repetitions within the Holy Wednesday liturgy, does not have any long-range effects on the formal structure of the tract. To add this repetition has no precedent in the Psalter,[111] but seems to me to be purposeful rather than 'a blind adoption of mistakes'.[112]

As *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat*, then, the text of *Domine exaudi* had clear exegetical associations with the Passion, expressed through the musical emphasis of the opening invocations. The themes of the Resurrection, the judgement of the Risen Christ, and the imminent pitying of Sion, all of which connect to other chant texts and readings on Holy Wednesday, are also emphasised musically, showing that *Domine exaudi* cannot fully be understood as a second-mode tract in isolation, but only within its liturgical context.

### *Domine audiui*

As discussed in chapter 2, there are places where the Romano-Frankish version of this chant has unexpected phrases apparently in response to the significant departures from the familiar Vulgate text. These will not be discussed here.

quae reddit nobis dns ds noster. In diebus illis dixit essaias dne quis credidit audutui nostro ert brachium dni cui reuelatum est usq. Et ipse pecatu multorum tullit et pro transgressoribus rogauit': see Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes*', 54.

110 The Romano-Frankish offertory instead has the Gallican Psalter text: 'quia tempus miserendi eius quia uenit tempus'; the communion has the text 'Potum meum cum fletu temperabam: quia eleuans allisisti me: et ego sicut fenum arui: tu autem, Domine, in aeternum permanes: tu exsurgens misereberis sion, quia uenit tempus miserendi eius'.

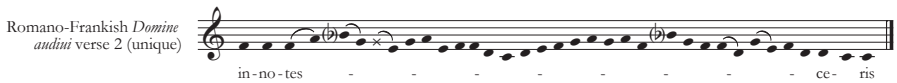
111 *AOFGC*, 317.

112 'eine blinde Übernahme von Fehlern': Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 283.

TABLE 12. Emphatic phrases in *Domine audiui*

| VERSE | TEXT | TRANSLATION | EMPHATIC MELODY |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'Domine audiui' | 'Lord, I have heard' | repetition, punctuation (OR, R-F) |
| 2 | 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris' | 'Between two creatures you will be known' | **1c** (open cadence) retake–**1g**–unique (R-F); **1a**–recitation–**2c**–**2c** (OR) |
| 4 | 'Deus' | 'God' | **1f** (OR, R-F) |
| 4 | 'a libano ueniet' | 'will come from Lebanon' | ***2b1** (OR) |
| 5 | 'caelos' | 'the heavens' | unique (R-F) |

The first place with unique melodic material in both traditions is 'in medio duorum animalium innotesceris'.[113] The Romano-Frankish phrase **1c** (associated with the second verse of a second-mode tract) has an open cadence, which is very unusual for this tradition. It is followed by a retake of the opening (see Example 12 on p. 35) and phrase **1g** (used here, as usual, when there is enough text for two *D*-phrases in the first verse-half). The verse half ends with a unique phrase with a different tonal space (see Example 82). It would be hard to think of a way of emphasising this text more strongly than with this high tessitura and these internal repetitions.[114]




EXAMPLE 82

In the Old Roman tradition, 'In medio' uses phrase **1a** because of the textual cue of the following verse 'In eo', which uses phrase **1a** with its usual accent pattern. The following text, 'duorum', neither has the melodic retake of the Romano-Frankish tradition, nor is the usual beginning of the following phrase shape. Instead, the melody oscillates between the twin recitation poles characteristic of the Old Roman *D*-mode without being connected to any particular formulaic moment: the Old Roman cantors seem to have filled in with three syllables-worth of lowest-common-denominator recitation. The remainder of the text portion, rather than syntactically linking 'animalium' to the earlier portions of text by continuing with material cadencing on *D* (as in the Romano-Frankish phrase **1g**) has phrase **2c** not once but twice, on 'animalium' and 'innotesceris'. The Old Roman tradition divides

113 Éamonn Ó Carragáin has written at length about the resonances this sentence had for medieval monks and the role it plays in the iconographic proramme of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. See Ó Carragáin, '"*Traditio evangeliorum*" and "*sustentatio*", 422–30, for a concentration on the Good Friday-related aspects of 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris'.

114 Karp links this phrase to the related gradual *De necessitatibus*, on the phrases 'humilitatem meam' and 'deus meus', and to a shape found in first-mode graduals: see *AOFGC*, 81–2. However, the $b^{\flat}$ is unique to 'innotesceris', and only the cadence of 'innotesceris' is given, not the whole (unique) phrase. The actual notes used are not the same, although the tonal space is similar. Although they are related, I would not consider this to be a single formulaic system.

the prepositional phrase between phrase **1** and phrase **2** material. While use of phrase **2c** is well established as a rhetorical device, it also seems to have been the rhetorically emphatic solution to which the Old Roman tradition gravitated when memory failed in maintaining unique phrases.[115]

In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine interprets the one 'who will be known' as Christ, and the two living creatures as the Old and New Testaments, as Moses and Elijah, or as the two thieves at Calvary.[116] The last of these was the most popular in the Latin church in patristic and early-medieval times,[117] and 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris' is central to Augustine and Jerome's explanations of how the canticle prophesies the Passion of Christ. Through the Crucifixion Jesus was recognised as the Messiah, standing between the Old and New Covenants and literally between two thieves. This portion of text clearly has particular resonance for the Good Friday tract.

A further, additional interpretation of the sentence's musical emphasis may be proposed, however. The presence of the ox and the ass at the Nativity was an iconographic commonplace from the fourth century onwards,[118] and was usually connected by commentators to Isaiah 1: 3 ('The ox knows his owner and the ass his master's crib').[119] The ox and ass were also connected to the Habakkuk text 'in medio duorum animalium innotesceris' by Quodvultdeus (d. before 454).[120] Although this was isolated,[121] the connection gained wide textual currency in the Apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, dated 550–700.[122] More generally, the canticle was interpreted by Jerome as prophesying not just the Passion but also the incarnation of Christ.[123] The canticle is associated with the Christmas season as well as Passiontide, being used as a Matins responsory at the feast of the Circumcision and in the Epiphany Vigil; the related responsory 'O magnum mysterium' is used on several days at Christmas time.[124]

115 As with the unique Romano-Frankish phrase it rises to *b*♭.

116 Various human, animal, inanimate, abstract or angelic forms are interpreted as being the 'two creatures' in patristic and medieval exegesis. The detail is less important than the fact that the divine and human natures of Christ can be recognised through them: see Ó Carragáin, '"*Traditio evangeliorum*" and "*sustentatio*"', 423; see also Augustine, *City of God*, 863.

117 Joseph Ziegler, 'Ochs und Esel an der Krippe', *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 3 (1952), 385–402: 401.

118 'The ox and the ass are always present in renderings of the Nativity', Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (London, 1971), vol. I, 59.

119 Found, for example, in Origen's third-century *Homilies on Luke*: see Ziegler, 'Ochs und Esel an der Krippe', 391. The ox was the pure beast (symbolising the Jewish people, yoked to the law) and the ass was the impure one (symbolising the heathen, loaded with the sins of idolatry); Schiller, *Iconography*, 650–61.

120 Quodvultdeus, 'Contra Judaeos', XIII, 6, in CCSL 60, ed. René Brown (Turnhout, 1976), 243–4.

121 Ziegler, 'Ochs und Esel an der Krippe', 402.

122 Ziegler, 'Ochs und Esel an der Krippe', 388.

123 'Manifestum est autem iuxta Hebraicum quod in aduentu Christi cuncta repleta sint gloria, secundum illud quod in euangelio dicitur: *Gloria in excelsis deo, et super terram pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Et alibi: Pacem fecit in caelis et in terra per sanguinem crucis, et sedit in dextera magnitudinis: *Velociter enim currit sermo eius*': Jerome, *Commentarium in Abacuc*, 624.

124 Ziegler, 'Ochs und Esel an der Krippe', 385.

The final verse of *Domine audiui* confirms the suggestion that the Nativity was in the minds of the compilers of this Good Friday chant (see Example 83). 'Operuit celos' is emphasised in the Romano-Frankish tradition by having a unique melisma on 'celos'. There is a cross-genre connection with the Christmas day alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* which twice has phrase **1b** (as on 'Operuit') followed by the 'celos' melisma.[125] The Old Roman tradition has phrase **1b** on 'Operuit' and phrase **2a2** on 'celos maiestas eius'. The Old Roman alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* exactly parallels the Romano-Frankish alleluia by having phrase **1b** followed by the Old Roman equivalent of the 'celos' melisma at the same two points.[126] This suggests very strongly that phrase **1b** was also followed by the Roman equivalent of the 'celos' melisma in the eighth-century Roman *Domine audiui* and the association was lost in Rome at some point before the chant was notated.

'The heavens are covered with his glory' is therefore musically linked to the alleluia text sung at the third Mass on Christmas Day, one of the most important occasions of the liturgical year. The alleluia text reads: 'Holy day, illumine us; come people and adore God, because today a great light descends to earth'. The glory of Christ in the heavens in Habakkuk's prophecy is musically paralleled with the great light descending to earth from the heavens at the Nativity. Bede, commenting on 'the heavens are covered with his glory' – the canticle text - says of precisely this point that Christ's majesty was revealed not only through his Resurrection and Ascension, but also through the Nativity.[127] The emphasis on Christ being recognised between two living creatures and the musical connection with the Christmas Day alleluia mean that, through this text and its music, Christ's Incarnation is called to mind at the liturgical moment of his Crucifixion. In both moments, Christ is fully human, and humbled, but also divine and triumphant.

Bede wrote that the Habakkuk canticle 'is mainly a proclamation of the mysteries of the Lord's passion . . . But it also gives a mystical account of his incarnation, resurrection and ascension into heaven'.[128] While resonances of the Passion and Incarnation have already been identified in the tract, the Resurrection is emphasised in both traditions in verse 4, by the use of phrase **1f** on 'Deus', and by phrase ***2b1** in the Old Roman tradition on the following 'a libano ueniet'.[129] The text division of the single word 'Deus' followed by the prepositional phrase and verb

125 Observed by Karp, *AOFGC*, 64–5. He writes that drawing conclusions about why this might be so is beyond his brief. *Dies sanctificatus* is one of a family of inter-related alleluias (*AOFGC*, 169–79) of which *Dies sanctificatus* is the most prominent; the melody was originally associated with feasts between Nativity and Epiphany (*AOFGC*, 164).

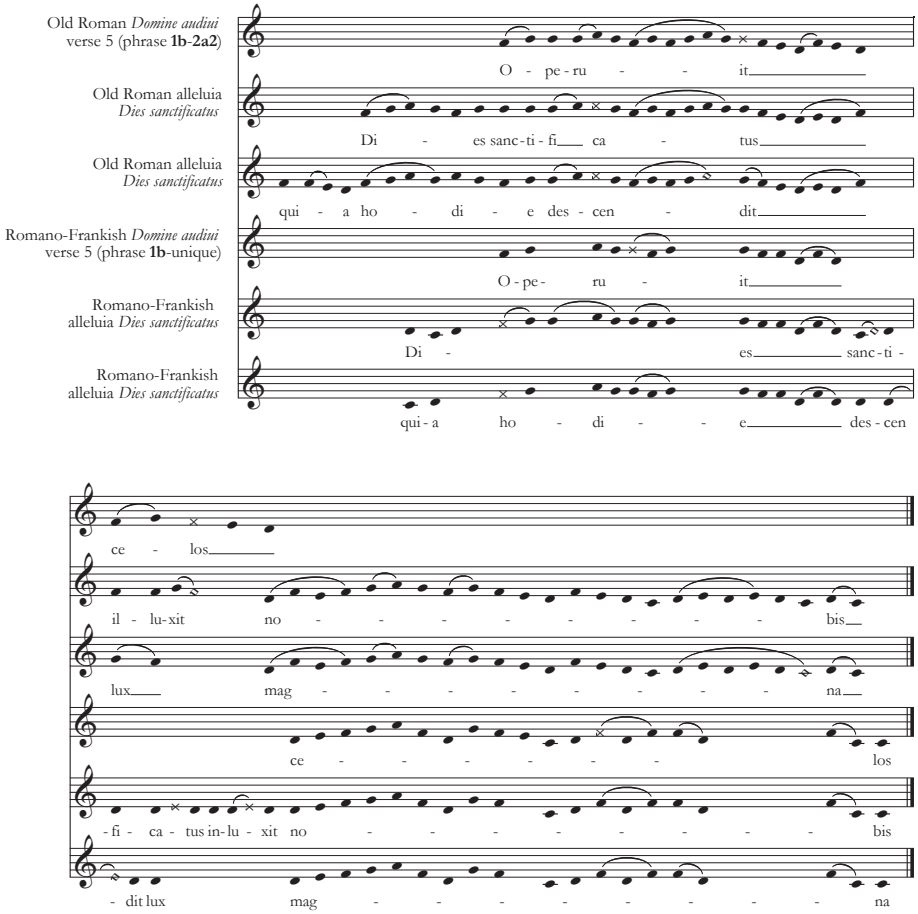
126 *AOFGC*, 359; a musical example is given on p. 364.

127 Bede, *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, 72.

128 Bede, *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, 65.

129 On this text (in the form 'Deus ab Africo ueniet, et sanctus de monte umbroso'), Augustine quotes Luke 24, 46–7 ('thus it was behoving the Christ to suffer, and to rise out of the dead the third day, and reformation and remission of sins to be proclaimed in his name to all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem' (*Young's Literal Translation*)), identifying Africa with Jerusalem, and then 'monte umbroso' with the Mount of Olives: 'Deus ab Africo ueniet, et sanctus de monte umbroso, id est, a monte oliveti, ubi ascendit in caelum'. Augustine, Sermon XLVI, in 'Sermones de vetero testamento', ed. Cyrillus Lambot, CCSL 41 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1961), 566–9: 568.

'a libano ueniet' also helps to highlight the important word. Looking forward to the Resurrection at the moment of the Passion helps to maintain the late-antique interpretation of Christ Crucified as Christ Triumphant, and is reflected in the reading which precedes *Domine audiui* in the Good Friday liturgy: Hosea 6: 1–6 includes the text 'In the third day he will raise us up'.[130]




EXAMPLE 83

130 Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes*', 54: 'FERIA VI AD HIERUSALEM lec lib osse profe. Haec dicit dns in tribulatione sua mane consurgent ad me uenire et reuertamur ad dnm usq. Misericordiam uolo et non sacrificium et scientiam dei plus quam olocaustamata.'

## Conclusion

Augustine wrote in *De civitate Dei* that one should apply what one has learned in grammar and rhetoric studies to interpreting and proclaiming scripture.[131] My study of the second-mode tracts suggests that this advice was taken to heart by the chants' creators. Not only is the textual grammar an important determinant of musical form, but the melodies provide rhetorically heightened deliveries of the texts which in turn promote particular interpretations of the scriptural texts.

In each second-mode tract, the musical reading of the text connects to the liturgical themes of the day in question, as evidenced by the readings and by the other Proper chants which surround it. On Passion Sunday, the emphasis in *Deus deus meus* is on Psalm 21 [22] as prefiguration of the Passion of Christ. In *Domine exaudi* on Holy Wednesday, the dual interpretation of Psalm 101 [102] as referring both to Sion (the Church) weighed down by sin and also to Christ's blameless suffering and resurrection is reflected in the music. *Qui habitat*, sung on Quadragesima Sunday, speaks of the battle between Christ and the devil in the Temptation, which Lent symbolically re-enacts. The chant is also sung on Good Friday, together with *Domine audiui*, and both touch on the triumph of the risen Christ Crucified; *Domine audiui* refers to the life of Christ from Nativity through Passion to Resurrection. At the same time, and particularly notable in the exegetical emphases of *Deus deus meus* and *Domine exaudi*, the attentive listener is invited to share in the psalm narrative on a personal level. Medieval exegesis, 'particularly as experienced in a liturgical context, collapses to some degree the hermeneutical distance between the reader and the world of the biblical text; the world of past salvific events becomes, not just a moral ideal to be striven for but a present reality to be embraced'.[132] Such a suggestion is supported by Amalar's interpretation of the liturgical function of the tract as a sign of unity with Christ, who came to new life through his death. Tracts have a double meaning, referring both to sorrow and to the joy of the life to come.[133]

Such rhetorically focused musical expressions of the scriptural texts are unlikely to be the products of long evolution. Instead, I suggest that the second-mode tracts were created in something akin to their current form consciously and for a particular purpose, either by an individual or collectively. As the above discussion has shown, the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions have a close kinship. Together with the parallel musical grammar and use of the Roman Psalter, these characteristics suggest that the origins of the chants are Roman. The papal *schola cantorum* seems the likeliest forum for such an endeavour, which must have taken place at some point before the mid-eighth century (and possibly much earlier). There are several occasions where one tradition has an emphatic phrase while the other has

131 Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis*, 25–31.

132 Marie Anne Mayeski, 'Reading the Word in a Eucharistic Context: The Shapes and Methods of Early Medieval Exegesis', in Lizette Larson-Miller (ed.), *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays* (New York and London, 1997), 61–84: 64.

133 Anders Ekenberg, *Cur Cantatur? Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesanges nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit*, Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 41 (Stockholm, 1987), 80.

a normal formulaic phrase or follows a text cue. In the great majority of these, the Romano-Frankish tradition has the emphatic phrase. If one accepts the premise that the Franks intended to adopt Roman chant faithfully, and takes into account the long oral transmission in Rome, it is most likely that these heightened readings were original to the eighth-century Roman chants adopted by the Franks.[134]

134 The same argument is made at length in Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

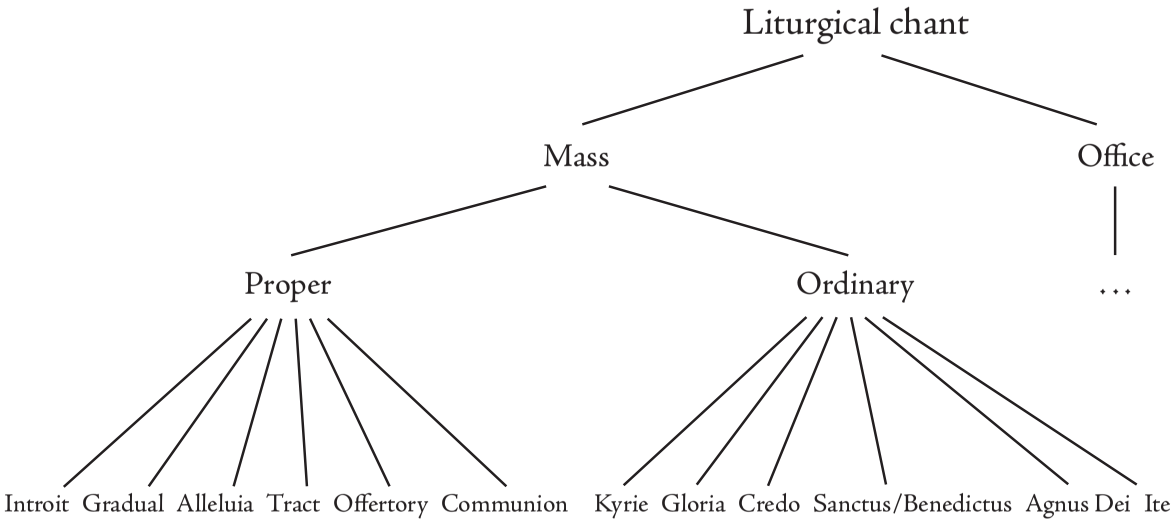

Liturgical chant
Mass
Office
Proper
Ordinary
...
Introit
Gradual
Alleluia
Tract
Offertory
Communion
Kyrie
Gloria
Credo
Sanctus/Benedictus
Agnus Dei
Ite

FIGURE 1

# 5

## GENRE AND THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS

At first glance, genre is a hugely powerful concept in chant. Within the central liturgical repertory, each chant belongs to a genre – introit, responsory and so on – and there is rarely any controversy over which genre a chant belongs to. There are several obvious reasons for this. Firstly, many chant genres are easily and meaningfully defined by liturgical function. There is never any question about whether, for example, an introit functions rather like a gradual. An introit is sung during the procession into the church, not between the readings of the Mass and, as such, is clearly an introit. Jacobsson and Treitler refer to genre in this sense having 'a neutral connotation, doing little more than identifying the divisions in a taxonomy'[1] and, indeed, it is completely straightforward to create a hierarchical taxonomy of many chant genres according to their liturgical function (see Figure 1 for a partial taxonomy).

As well as being clearly differentiated by liturgical function, some chant genres have internal musical structures which unify them as genres. Each of these families of chants is derived from a melodic type or formulaic system. This goes for the tracts and for many of the graduals, alleluias, responsories and antiphons.[2] Further, chants are consistently given genre labels in the manuscript sources, right back to the unnotated Mass Proper manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries. The association of each chant with a particular liturgical genre was integral to the tradition. Genre is a strong concept in the study of chant because the genres identified by a taxonomic approach – according to the hierarchical division of the repertoire according to Mass and Office, Proper and Ordinary and so on – coincide with the genres one can identify according to melody type, and with those identified by medieval scribes.

However, there are several complicating factors. By categorising chants according to genre, one risks missing interesting textual or musical interplay between chants of different genres, such as the shared material on 'leonem et draconem'

1 Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler, 'Tropes and the Concept of Genre', in Ritva Jacobsson (ed.), *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson* (Cologny-Geneve, 1986), 59–89: 60.

2 'The tracts and many of the graduals and alleluias are the products of thinking in terms of genres and their musical types'. László Dobszay, 'Two Paradigms of Orality: The Office and the Mass', in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), 1–10: 4.

in the Quadragesima tract *Qui habitat* and the Quadragesima offertory *Scapulis suis* discussed on p. 91. Similarly, it is easy for a scholar to become so focused on the melodic language of a single formulaic genre that (s)he misses melodic strategies used across several genres at a deeper structural level than formula.[3] Further, most introits, communions and offertories, as well as many graduals, responsories, antiphons and alleluias are not based on melodic types. They range from being partially formulaic to being completely idiomelic, so that the structural parameters one can use to identify distinct genres and subgenres of formulaic chant simply do not apply.

This chapter attempts a typological definition of the second-mode tracts, considering which characteristics are essentially generic, which sometimes appear, and which are sufficient, in my opinion, to disqualify a chant from participation in the genre. The discussion centres on what early-medieval cantors, scribes and commentators understood a second-mode tract to be.

As well as the Graduals and Cantatoria containing tracts, the following discussion draws on the famous list of *Stipendia* of Angilram, bishop of Metz, dated to 768–88 (if not 768–84) by Andrieu. The relevant parts of the text are as follows:

> [On Palm Sunday], the cantor who sings the well-known tract *Deus deus meus*: 1 solidus. And he who sings the responsorial gradual, that is, *Domine exaudi*, on Holy Wednesday should receive 4 denarii. And he who on Good Friday. And he who on the same day sings the tract *Qui habitat* should receive 1 solidus. Certainly, each of the 8 cantors who on Holy Saturday will have said the Greek and Latin canticles should receive 6 denarii. And he who assembles the 8 cantors to himself, 4 solidi. Indeed, he who sings the alleluia: 4 denarii. Certainly, he who sings the tract *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* should receive the same . . . On the other hand, during those four Ember Days of the year, he who sings the Benediction in the ambo should receive 1 solidus . . . and the cantor who sings the tract *Qui habitat* in the ambo at the beginning of Quadragesima should receive 1 solidus.[4]

Clearly something has been omitted at the beginning of the Good Friday *Stipendia* by the scribe of the only surviving manuscript,[5] and the obvious candidate is the second-mode tract *Domine audiui*, which appears earlier than *Qui habitat* in the Good Friday liturgy. If this is the case, then all four of the core-repertory second-

3 Theodore Karp's work, in which the analysis of tonal strategies transcends genre boundaries, stands as an important corrective to such an approach: see *AOFGC*.

4 On Palm Sunday 'Cantor qui ill(um) tract(um) cantat D(eu)s D(eu)s m(eu)s. Sol(idum) I. / Et ille qui in fer(ia) IIII ebdomada maiore respons(um) gradal(e) cantat. Id e(st) D(omi)ne exaudi. Den(arios) IIII accipiat. / Et qui in sexta f(e)r(ia). / Et qui ipsa die illo tracto Qui habitat cantat. Sol(idum) I accipiat. / Illi vero octo cantores qui in sabbato s(an)c(t)o cantica greca qua(m) et latina dixerint. Unusquisq(ue) accipiat den(arios) VI. Et hoc collegit ad illos VIII cantores sol(idus) IIII. / Qui eni(m) all(eluia) cantat. Den(arios) IIII. / Qui vero tract(um) [L]audate d(omi)n(u)m om(ne)s gentes cantat. Similit(er) accipiat. / . . . Na(m) per illa quatuor te(m)pora anni qui illa(m) benedic(tionem) in ambone cantat. Sol(idum) I. accipiat. / . . . Et cantor qui in ambone initio quadragesima tract(um) Qui habitat cantat. Sol(idum) I. accipiat': Andrieu, 'Règlement d'Angilramme de Metz', 352–6.

5 London, BL, Additional MS 15222, from Besançon, *c.* 1000.

mode tracts were rewarded with extra payment in late-eighth-century Metz.[6]

There is also pertinent evidence in the *Ordines Romani*, Frankish redactions of Roman descriptions of liturgical practice. The evidence of the *Ordines Romani* is not easily interpreted since the documents considerably predate the manuscripts in which they are copied. Some aspects of liturgical practice were updated, and some adaptations were made for non-Roman liturgical contexts, between the composition of the documents and the copying of the surviving sources, while some liturgical anachronisms continued to be copied. Certain of the *Ordines Romani* refer to one or more of *Qui habitat*, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi* in their Holy Week contexts, as well as to the more recent Good Friday tract, *Eripe me* (on which, see Chapter 6). Unfortunately, the earlier part of Lent is not discussed in detail in the *Ordines Romani* and *De necessitatibus*, *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* (on Quadragesima Sunday) are not specifically mentioned. On most occasions when a particular second-mode tract is mentioned, there is nothing to indicate the number of singers involved or the mode of performance. Instead passive verb forms such as 'sequitur' and 'cantatur' are used ('it follows', 'it is sung').[7]

## Liturgical position

The standard definition, medieval as well as modern, identifies the tract as a Mass Proper chant replacing the alleluia, sung straight after the gradual during Lent in the following sequence: Old Testament reading, gradual, tract, Gospel.[8] Most chants meeting this criterion are in fact eighth-mode tracts; the only two second-mode tracts to be performed in this way are *Qui habitat* on Quadragesima Sunday and *Deus deus meus* on Passion Sunday. The remaining chants often considered to be second-mode tracts are instead sung in liturgies with two Old Testament readings before the Gospel. *De necessitatibus* is sung on the Ember Wednesday after Quadragesima Sunday in the following sequence: Old Testament reading, gradual, Old Testament reading, *De necessitatibus*, Gospel. The provision of a second Old Testament reading followed by a second gradual is a normal circumstance on a Wednesday Ember day.[9] *Domine exaudi*, sung on Wednesday of Holy Week, appears at the same point in the Mass, after the second Old Testament reading,[10] and also functions as a second gradual. On Good Friday, the Liturgy of

6 The payments have been discussed, without mentioning *Deus deus meus*, the Easter Vigil canticle-tracts, or the omitted Good Friday chant title by McKinnon, 'Lector Chant versus Schola Chant', 209.

7 This is seen in *Ordines Romani XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXA, XXXB*, and *XXXI* (only *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in this *Ordo*): see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*.

8 See, for example, James McKinnon, 'Tract', *New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

9 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 288.

10 See, for example *Ordo Romanus XXIV*, 289: 'Legitur lectio una sicut in Capitulare commemorat. Sequitur r[esponsorium] gr[adale] *Ne auertas faciem tuam*. Sequitur altera lectio, post quam canticum *Domine exaudi*, cum uersibus suis quinque'. Similar rubrics are given in *Ordo Romanus XXVII*, 352; *Ordo Romanus XXVIII*, 392, *Ordo Romanus XXIX*, 438; and *Ordo Romanus*

the Word was followed by the Adoration of the Cross and then Communion, celebrated with the reserved Host of the Maundy Thursday Mass. Within the Liturgy of the Word, *Domine audiui* and *Qui habitat* both functioned as interlectionary chants in the following sequence: Old Testament reading, *Domine audiui*, Old Testament reading, *Qui habitat*,[11] Gospel. The sequence is equivalent to that of the Ember Wednesdays, that is, with both *Domine audiui* and *Qui habitat* functioning as graduals. Under this standard liturgical definition, therefore, there were, strictly speaking, only two second-mode tracts before *c.* 850 – *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* – and *Qui habitat* functioned instead as a gradual on Good Friday. *Domine audiui*, *Domine exaudi* and *De necessitatibus* also functioned as graduals.

## Textual structure

Table 13. The textual structure of the second-mode tracts

| CHANT | TEXTUAL STRUCTURE |
|---|---|
| *Deus deus meus* | In directum (Psalm 21 [22]: 2–9, $18_2$–19, 22, 24, 32) |
| *Qui habitat* | In directum (Psalm 90 [91]: 1–7, 11–16) |
| *Domine exaudi* | In directum (Psalm 101 [102]: 2–5 and 14) |
| *Domine audiui* | In directum (Habakkuk 3: 2–3) |
| *De necessitatibus* | Responsorial (Psalm 24 [25]: $17_2$–18, 1–$3_1$ and $3_2$–$4_1$) |

As Table 13 illustrates, *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* consist of many verses from their respective psalms working progressively through the psalm. This is a standard text form for *in directum* chants, that is, chants sung straight through by a soloist without repeats, and it is shared by *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi* albeit with shorter texts. *De necessitatibus* instead has a responsorial structure. The respond with which the chant starts derives from late in the psalm (Psalm 24: $17_2$–18) and the singers would return to this after Psalm 24: 1–$3_1$ and again after Psalm 24: $3_2$–$4_1$.[12] In terms of textual structure, *De necessitatibus* is differentiated from the other chants under consideration.

## Medieval nomenclature

*Qui habitat* is always referred to as a tract in the *Ordines Romani*, and both *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* are consistently referred to as tracts in the manuscript sources. In the *Ordines Romani*, *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are often referred to as *cantica*. This description of the textual origin (accurate for *Domine audiui* but not for the psalmic *Domine exaudi*) provides no information

*XXXI*, 492, but none of them give any indication of the number of verses.

11 Until *c.* 850, when *Qui habitat* was replaced in the Frankish Empire by the newly composed tract *Eripe me*, on which see Chapter 6.

12 Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 118.

about whether they were solo chants or choral ones, responsorial or *in directum*. In several *Ordines Romani* manuscripts, responsorial performance is suggested by the designation of one or both chants as *gr*, *R*, *RG*, *Responsorium* or *Responsorius gradalis* (see Table 14); the manuscripts not cited here designate the chants as *cantica*. These *Ordo Romanus* citations, like Angilram of Metz's identification of *Domine exaudi* as 'respons(um) gradal(e)' in the list of *Stipendia*, above, place *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in a different category from the tracts.

Table 14. Generic designations of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the *Ordines Romani*

| *Ordo Romanus* | MANUSCRIPT | *Domine exaudi* | *Domine audiui* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *XXIII* | Einsiedeln 326 (9th c.) | n/a | gr |
| *XXIV* | Wolfenbuettel 4175 (early-9th c.; one of four manuscripts preserving the *Ordo*) | RG | RG |
| *XXIV* | Albi 42 (late 9th c.; one of eleven manuscripts preserving the *Ordo*) | R RG | canticum |
| *XXVII* | London, BL Add. 15222 (late-10th-c. Besançon) | R | canticum |
| *XXVIII* | Munich 14510 (9th/10th c., one of ten manuscripts preserving the *Ordo*) | canticum | R |
| *XXIX* | Palatinus 487 and St Petersburg, Q.V.II, no. 5 (Corbie? 870–90) | responsorium | canticum |
| *XXXB* | found only in Paris, BNF lat. 974 | n/a | responsorium |
| *XXXI* | North/North-East Francia before 900 | tractus | canticum |
| *XXXII* | Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 192 (Corbie, *c.* 870 – *c.* 890, one of two manuscripts preserving the *Ordo*) | n/a | responsorius gradalis |
| *XXXII* | Paris, BNF lat 14088 from Corbie (*c.* 870–890) | responsorium gr | responsorium |
| *XXXIII* | found only in a late-10th or early-11th-c. St Martial manuscript | n/a | responsum |

The chant sources paint a similar picture (see Table 15). While the Old Roman sources all name *Domine audiui*, *Domine exaudi* and *De necessitatibus* as tracts and, by the eleventh century, *De necessitatibus* was being consistently identified as a tract in Graduals and Missals,[13] this postdates the period with which I am concerned here. *Fle1*, the source whose compilers were so attuned to second-mode tracts that they included eight chants in the genre beyond the core repertory, also names all three as tracts but, otherwise, the only identification of one of these three chants as a tract in my manuscript sample is the marginal cue for *Domine exaudi* in *Den6*, a copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary dating from the first half of the ninth century. Although the Aquitanian *Aki5* calls *Domine audiui* a canticle, these chants were almost always named as responsorial graduals in the early Mass Proper sources.

13 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 284 ff.

Table 15. Generic designations of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the Mass Proper sources

| | TITLE OF *Domine exaudi* | TITLE OF *Domine audiui* | TITLE OF *De necessitatibus* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Aki5* | RG | Canticum | RG |
| *Cha1* | R | R | R |
| *Coc6* | ITEM RESP. GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | ITEM RESP. GRAD. |
| *Cor2*[a] | ITEM RESP. GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | ITEM GRAD. |
| *Cor3* | lacuna | lacuna | RG |
| *Den5* | RG | not found | ITEM RG |
| *Den6* | tractus | no chants for Good Friday | Item Resp |
| *Den7* | ITEM RESP. GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | ITEM RESP. GRAD. |
| *Eli* | lacuna | lacuna | AD RG |
| *Ext2* | IT [resp] | R | IT R |
| *Fle1* | Tract | Tract | TRAC |
| *Gal1* | RG | RG | RG |
| *Lan* | It R | R | IT R |
| *Laon 266* | R | R | lacuna |
| *Leo3* | ITEM RESP. GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | ITEM RESP. GRAD. |
| *Mon6* | ITEM RESP. GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | ITEM RESP. GRAD. |
| *Noy3* | R | lacuna | R |
| *Orc* | Tract | Tract | Tractus |
| *Orj* | No title | Tract | TR |
| *Orp* | Tract | Tract | Tractus |
| *Rei5* | GRAD. | RESP. GRAD. | n/a[b] |
| *Sam2* | RG | RG | RG |

[a] In the notated tradition, *Domine exaudi* has a respond and five verses and *Domine audiui* has a respond and four verses for each of the two chants. *Cor2* includes only the respond and first verse, and *Den7* only has incipits for the respond and first verse but, since these manuscripts provide only incipits for each second-mode tract, the short texts cannot be taken as evidence that the chants were shorter in these traditions.

[b] *Rei5* omits the chant on this Ember Wednesday, but instead has it as a gradual on the Third Sunday of Epiphany: see *AOFGC*, 83.

## Performance practice

The standard text-book definition of a tract is as 'a solo chant' whose 'verses, generally derived in order from a psalm, were sung one after the other by a soloist without intervening choral responses.'[14] Such a definition is certainly oversimplistic. While Hiley writes that 'tracts are sung by a soloist or small group of soloists, and include no return to a previous respond or other refrain section',[15] he almost immediately qualifies this by writing that 'the three tracts called graduals in

14 McKinnon, 'Tract'.
15 *WP*, 82.

early manuscripts were presumably performed like graduals, that is, with the first verse repeated as a respond after each subsequent verse.'[16]

In the early sources, the verses of *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* are almost always indicated with capital letters or with V before a capital, suggesting *in directum* performance (responsorial chants with multiple verses tend to have numbered verses, with verse 1 as the first after the respond).[17] The ninth-century *Ordo Romanus XXIII* specifies the performance practice of *Qui habitat*, but only the beginning of it: by a soloist in the pulpit on Good Friday.[18] The implication here is that the cantor did not sing the whole chant himself. Solo performance of *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* was certainly not universal by the eleventh century, when the first clear indications appear that the chants had moved from solo performance to performance by a small group of cantors. Rubrics stipulate various numbers of singers, from two to the entire *schola*, alternating verse by verse, or singing the chant straight through.[19] According to the *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesie Lateranensis* (*c.* 1140), the verses of these two chants alternate between the *schola* and three or four specially selected cantors.[20]

*Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* were sung as solo chants in the early Middle Ages in at least some places: *Laon266*, a fragmentary late-ninth-century Cantatorium containing only the solo portions of solo chants,[21] includes the whole of *Deus deus meus* (although the opening is lacunary). The Gradual *Rei5* (dating from the 790s) contains only the choral portions of chants and, in this manuscript, both chants are indicated only by incipits.[22] In both traditions, these were clearly solo chants. Although the different versions of the early-eighth-century *Ordo Romanus I* have slightly different wording from each other, all have verb forms implying that a tract would be sung by a single singer: the cantor, with his Cantatorium, in the ambo.[23]

16 *WP*, 82.

17 Capitals in *Aki5* (*Qui habitat* only; *Deus deus meus* missing), *Coc6*, *Cor2*, *Gal1*, *Den5*, *Mon6*, *Eli* (*Qui habitat* only; *Deus deus meus* missing in lacuna) and *Sam2*. V for each verse in *Cha1*, *Fle1*, *Orj* and *Orp*; capitals with V used intermittently in *Orc*. There is a dot before each new verse in *Cor3*, as discussed on p. 25 n. 11. The only exception to this in my sample of early manuscripts is *Lan*. In *Deus deus meus*, verse 2, 'Longe', is marked II, and the remaining verses are marked III, IIII etc., which clearly implies that 'Deus deus meus' was viewed as the first verse of an *in directum* chant rather than as the respond of a responsorial one. However, in *Qui habitat* in the same manuscript, verse 2, 'Dicet domino', is indicated with a capital together with V.I, and the remaining verses are numbered V.II, V.III etc. Here the implication is that 'Qui habitat' was the respond of a responsorial chant with many verses, whose first verse began 'Dicet domino'.

18 'Et iterum ascendit subdiaconus et legit aliam lectionem Deuteronomii, post quem cantor ascendens incipit tractatum *Qui habitat*': Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 271.

19 Details are given in Kees Vellekoop, 'De uitvoerungspraktijk van de tractus *Qui habitat* en *Deus deus meus*', *Tijdschrift voor gregoriaans* 22 (1997), 90–100.

20 *AOFGC*, 101.

21 Peter Jeffery, 'An Early Cantatorium Fragment Related to Ms. Laon 239', *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), 245–53: 246.

22 For *Deus deus meus* this comprises the whole of the first verse; for *Qui habitat* it is just the beginning of the first verse.

23 'Deinde ascendit alius cum cantatorio, dicit responsum. Deinde alius Alleluia'; or 'Postquam legerit, cantor cum cantatorio ascendit et dicit responsum. Si fuerit tempus ut dicat Alleluia, bene; sin autem, tractum; sin minus, tantummodo responsum'; or 'Postquam legerit, cantor cum cantatorio

In the late-eighth-century *Ordo Romanus IV*, the readings and interlectionary chants are performed 'in medium de scola'. By this point, in this tradition at least, the cantor and his book had moved position within the church, and perhaps the performance practice had shifted into the realm of the *schola* as well.[24] The verb forms in Angilram's list of *Stipendia* (see p. 116) clearly show that solo performance of *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* was expected, although it is possible for both of these chants and also for *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, discussed below, that Angilram was recording payments to the singer of the solo portions of a choral chant: Angilram also includes the Easter Saturday gradual in his list of *stipendia* (identified by its alleluia refrain), and payment was presumably made here at least to the singer of the solo portions of a partially choral chant. As the above discussion makes clear, the norm in the early Middle Ages was for *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* to be sung *in directum*, whether by a single soloist, or by some or all of the *schola cantorum*.

The naming of *Domine exaudi*, *Domine audiui* and *De necessitatibus* suggests that they were instead usually sung as responsorial choral chants. As the labelling of the verses shows, however, the situation was more complex than this (see Table 16).

Most manuscripts from the later-tenth century onwards label the verses with a capital letter or V, or label the first verse after the respond as V.II and then continue through to V.V or V.VI. This is the case in my sample in the three Old Roman manuscripts and *Fle1* (all of which label all three chants as tracts) and also in *Sam2*.[25] Such a system implies *in directum* performance with the respond being treated as the first verse. The possibility that all three chants were treated as *in directum* tracts is hinted at by *Cor2*, which includes only the respond and first verse for each of the three chants. This is normal practice for tracts in this manuscript, while the texts of graduals are given in full (but it is also possible that *De necessitatibus* was treated here as a gradual with a single verse).

The verses in *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are all labelled V, or are labelled V.II through to V.V or V.VI in *Cha1*, *Lan*, *Mon6* and *Gal1*, implying *in directum* performance, where *De necessitatibus* has verses labelled V.I and V.II,[26] with the opening of the chant being treated as a respond to which the performers would return.

Cantatoria, containing the soloist's chants of the Mass Proper (graduals, tracts and alleluias), are rare;[27] the combination of all the Mass Proper chants in Graduals and, later, Missals was much more common.[28] The Cantatorium *Mon6* does not consistently have the complete texts for graduals, but the tracts are always

ascendens responsum gradale cantat. Post quem alter Alleluia, si tempus fuerit; sin vero tractum cantaturus ascendet; si vero minime, solum responsum sufficet'.

24 My thanks to Christoph Tietze for a rewarding discussion of these passages.

25 Also in *Eli* and *Cor3* for *De necessitatibus*; the other two chants are lacunary in both manuscripts.

26 V and V.I in *Cha1* has the same function.

27 *WP*, 296.

28 The cantatorium *Gal1* has both the choral and solo portions of both tracts and graduals, so the presence of the complete texts and melodies of *Domine audiui*, *Domine exaudi* and *De necessitatibus* does not provide information about whether these were solo or choral chants.

TABLE 16. Verse labels in *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in the Mass Proper sources

| | VERSE INDICATIONS IN *Domine exaudi* | VERSE INDICATIONS IN *Domine audiui* | VERSE INDICATIONS IN *De necessitatibus* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Aki5* | Respond then V.I . . . V.V | Respond then V.I . . .V.IIII | Respond then V, Capital letter |
| *Cha1* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, V.I |
| *Coc6* | Respond then V.I . . .IIII | Respond then V.I . . .IIII | Respond then V.I, V.II |
| *Cor2* | Respond then V | Respond then V | Respond then V |
| *Cor3* | lacuna | lacuna | Respond then UR, UR |
| *Den5* | Respond then V.I . . .V.V | not found | Respond then V, V.II |
| *Den7* | Respond then V | Respond then V | Respond then V.I, V.II |
| *Eli* | lacuna | lacuna | Respond then V, V |
| *Ext2* | Respond then V . . .V | n/a (incipit only) | Respond then V, V |
| *Fle1* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, V |
| *Gal1* | Capitals only | Capitals only | Respond then V.I, V.II |
| *Lan* | Respond then V.II, V.III, IIII, V, VI | Respond then V.II. V.III, IV, V | Respond then V.I, V.II |
| *Laon266* | Respond then V.I (rest lacunary) | Respond then V.I . . .V.IIII | lacuna |
| *Laon121* | lacuna | lacuna | lacuna, V.II |
| *Leo3* | Respond then V, V.I, V, V, V | Respond then V, V.II . . .V.IIII | Respond then V, V.II |
| *Mon6* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, n/a |
| *Noy3* | V . . .V | lacuna | n/a (incipit only) |
| *Orc* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, V |
| *Orj* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, V |
| *Orp* | V . . .V | Capitals | Respond then V, V |
| *Rei5* | Respond then V | Respond then V | n/a |
| *Sam2* | V . . .V | V . . .V | Respond then V, V |

written out in full. Both *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are fully written out, placing them as solo chants, but *De necessitatibus* is represented only by incipits for the respond and first verse, placing it as a responsorial gradual (which is consistent with the evidence of the verse rubrics). The fragmentary Cantatorium *Laon266* contains only the solo portions of solo chants, omitting the choral sections, as mentioned above. This manuscript provides the complete texts for both *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, implying that here they were considered to be soloist's chants (despite the verse numbering implying responsorial performance). Unfortunately, the Lenten Ember Wednesday is in the missing part of the manuscript, so that the performing resources for *De necessitatibus* cannot be confirmed.

Several of the *Ordines Romani* suggest that *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* were solo chants (while not mentioning *De necessitatibus*). *Ordo Romanus XXIII* appears in the ninth-century manuscript Einsiedeln 326, and describes the papal ceremonies of Holy Week, specifying solo performance in the pulpit of *Domine*

*audiui* by the cantor.[29] Solo performance of *Domine audiui*, with its verses, is similarly specified in *Ordo Romanus XXXI*, compiled before 900 in north or north-east Francia,[30] and the Corbie *Ordo Romanus XXXII* instructs solo performance of each of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*.[31]

A differentiation between the responsorial *De necessitatibus* and the other two chants is hinted at by *Sam2*, which has *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* in full, but only short text incipits for the respond and verses of *De necessitatibus*, and *Den7*, which has incipits for the respond and first verse of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* but incipits for the respond and both verses in *De necessitatibus*.[32] *Den7* additionally provides a tract for the Ember Wednesday, giving a cue for the eighth-mode tract *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*, and further confirming that *De necessitatibus* was not an Ember Wednesday tract in this tradition.

Several of the earliest manuscripts label the verses after the respond as V.I, V.II . . . in all of *Domine exaudi*, *Domine audiui* and *De necessitatibus* (*Aki5*, *Coc6*, *Den5*, *Laon266* and *Leo3*), suggesting that all three were sung responsorially.[33] The Gradual *Rei5*, which contains only the choral portions of chants, has no offertory or communion verses, and only an incipit for gradual and, sometimes, introit verses. For *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, this manuscript gives the whole of the respond and then (marked as V) an incipit for the first verse. This suggests choral performance of the respond only, with the rest of the chant being sung by a soloist. This tradition of responsorial performance of all three chants is further attested by the Gradual in *Leo3*, which treats *Domine exaudi*, *Domine audiui* and *De necessitatibus* in the same way, having long incipits for every verse (or even the whole

29 'Veruntamen, ut a domno apostolico fuerit osculata, statim ascendit subdiaconus in ambonem et incipit legere lectionem Oseae prophetae, post cuius descensum ascendit cantor et canit gr[aduale] *Domine audivi*, cum versibus suis': Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 271. The *Ordo* does not include a blessing of the Paschal Candle, and Vogel therefore dates the original to 700–50, although it is impossible to tell whether the performance direction for *Domine audiui* is similarly ancient or a more recent interpolation: Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, transl. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), 170.

30 'Deinde sequatur cantor cantas canticum *Domine audivi auditum tuum*, cum versibus suis. Deinde dicat pontifex: *Oremus*, et sequatur diaconus: *Flectamus genua*, et iterum: *Levate*. Et pontifex det orationem *Deus qui peccati veteris*. Sequatur alia lectio, post quam cantetur tractus *Eripe me domine . . .*': Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 492. The *Ordo* survives only in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9421.

31 'Postea dicet sacerdos orationem hanc: *Deus qui peccati veteris hereditariam*. Postea vadit ad sedem suam et legitur lectionem Osee: *In tribulatione sua mane*, et cantet responsorium gr[adale] *Domine exaudi*. Deinde dicet aliam orationem *Deus a quo et Iudas*. Deinde legitur in Exodo: *Dixit dominus ad Moysen et Aaron*, et cantet responsorium *Domine audiui auditum tuum et timui . . .*': Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 519 (Paris, BNF lat. 14088, *c.* 870–890). The liturgical assignment of these two chants to Good Friday is reflected in my manuscript sample only in *Rei5* and *Laon266*; the only possible parallel I have come across is in *Ordo Romanus XXXA*, preserved only in *Leo3*, where the two Good Friday interlectionary chants are not explicitly named, but are referred to as *respo*[*nsorium*] and *resp*[*onsorium*].

32 In this manuscript, *Qui habitat* is indicated by just two words, and *Deus deus meus* by five.

33 In *Domine exaudi*, *Leo3* marks the verses V., V. I., V., V. and V. The rubrics V. and V. I. are found elsewhere in the manuscript to mark the first and second verses of a gradual with several verses: see *AMS*, 92, n.2.

text in the early verses of *Domine audiui*) while *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* are indicated only with a short incipit for the opening of the chant.

There was no single performance practice for these chants in the ninth and tenth centuries. While they certainly became understood as tracts in the later-tenth century, the earlier manuscripts are inconsistent. Some treat all three as responsorial chants; others differentiate a responsorial *De necessitatibus* from the other two (solo and *in directum*) chants; some treat all three as tracts.

When *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* were performed responsorially, there may have been different performing traditions. Four rather later notated manuscripts survive in which responsorial performance of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* is clearly specified.[34] In *Mal1* there is an alternation of the full and partial respond after each verse, with a full respond after the partial respond following the final verse.[35] In *Dij2*, *Domine audiui* has partial responds after each verse and a full respond after the final partial respond. For *Domine exaudi*, *Tou* appears to have a copying error, with the first cue for the (full) respond straight after the respond; it then proceeds with alternating partial and full responds. For *Domine audiui* in *Alb* and for *Domine exaudi* in *Dij2*, there are cues after every verse except the final one, perhaps indicating a different mode of performance with no return to the respond after the last verse. Responsorial performance is not usually indicated with such specificity in notated sources.

The use of the phrase **4f** cadence in the Romano-Frankish tradition for verses 4 to 6 of *Domine exaudi*, verses 3 to 5 of *Domine audiui*, and verses 2 to 3 of *De necessitatibus* may provide information about their responsorial performance: since this phrase functions as a closing cue, it suggests that the respond was repeated at least after each of these verses.[36] Phrase **3c** is usually associated with final verses. In *De necessitatibus* it is used, preceding phrase **4f**, in the penultimate verse as well. Here it may well have had a cueing function relating to the return of the respond. In *Domine exaudi* phrase **3c** is used in the respond itself. It is treated emphatically, with a performance practice differentiated from the other occasions on which it occurs,[37] and it is not followed by phrase **4f**. This cadence may have functioned as a cue relating to the responsorial performance of the chant (warning the cantor to prepare for the next solo verse, perhaps), or it may emphasise an important portion of text (see pp. 102–3). The *Domine audiui* respond and verse 2 also use phrase **3c**, but not phrase **4f**, and once again a rhetorical emphasis may have been intended (alternatively, phrase **3c** may have served to draw attention to the departure of the text from the familiar Vulgate text; see pp. 20–1). Use of phrase **3c** in verses before the final one may reflect rhetorical emphasis or departures from the Vulgate rather than the responsorial form, and it cannot therefore be used with confidence in establishing the performance practice of the chants. However, the appearances of phrase **4f** in the Romano-Frankish tradition suggest that the structure of each chant may have been as follows:

34 The following discussion draws on *AOFGC*, 83–5.
35 The same manuscript clearly indicates responsorial performance of *De necessitatibus*.
36 Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 117–18.
37 Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant', 433–8.

| *Domine exaudi* | *Domine audiui* | *De necessitatibus* |
|---|---|---|
| Respond (verse 1) | Respond (verse 1) | Respond (verse 1) |
| Verses 2, 3, 4 (ends **4f**) | Verses 2, 3 (ends **4f**) | verse 2 (ends **4f**) |
| Respond | Respond | Respond |
| Verse 5 (ends **4f**) | Verse 4 (ends **4f**) | Verse 3 (ends **4f**) |
| Respond | Respond | Respond? |
| Verse 6 (ends **4f**) | Verse 5 (ends **4f**) | |
| Respond? | Respond? | |

The treatment of the chants in *Alb*, *Dij2*, *Mal1* and *Tou* suggests that there may have been a return to the respond after the early verses, despite the lack of phrase **4f** to cue the *schola* to sing, and the presence of the phrase **4f** melisma at the end of every verse of all three chants in the Old Roman tradition supports this contention (despite the verse numbering and rubrics of these manuscripts suggesting *in directum* performance). It is unclear whether, in responsorial performance, there was always a return to the respond after the final verse: the treatment of *Domine audiui* in *Alb* and of *Domine exaudi* in *Dij2* suggests not, and lack of phrase **4f** to conclude any of the responds means that this usual chant-ending cue would be lacking (although the formal implications of the phrase seem to be different in these responsorial chants, cueing a return to the respond rather than cuing the end of the chant). The uncertainty which surrounds the performance practice of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* means that one must be particularly careful in interpreting the significance of the final phrase of each verse; the presence before the final verse of phrase **4f** was probably a performance-related cue rather than having any emphatic role.

The last two verses of *Domine audiui* are reversed in *Coc6*, *Aki5*, *Cha1*, and *Fle1*, with 'Operuit celos' being copied before 'Deus a libano'.[38] In the late-eighth-century *Leo3*, the order of the last three verses is reversed: 'Operuit', 'Deus a libano', 'In eo'. The last two verses of *Domine exaudi* are reversed in *Ext2*, with 'Tu exurgens' being followed by 'Percussus sum'. One can only speculate about how such varying order of verses might transpose into particular performance practices. Perhaps the verses were sung in written order and then the usual final verse was sung again as a final respond, although one would usually expect it to be the opening of the chant which is repeated in a responsorial performance.

As the above discussion shows, *De necessitatibus* was, without a doubt, generally performed as a responsorial gradual at least until the tenth century while *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat* were *in directum* tracts. The evidence for *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* is inconsistent. While the naming of the chants and the repetition of phrase **4f** suggests responsorial performance, the structure of their texts does not. The verse numbering sometimes supports the theory that they were performed responsorially but sometimes suggests solo performance, a scenario supported by the descriptions of the *Ordines Romani*. My survey supports the hypothesis that *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* were responsorial chants in the early Middle

38 Also *Yrx* in the later tradition.

Ages,[39] with the caveat 'in some times and some places, and with considerable uncertainty remaining over the detail of the performance practice'.

## Distinctions between *De necessitatibus* and the second-mode tracts

In *De necessitatibus*,[40] the Roman Psalter has been slightly altered to make the sense clear given the reordering of the psalm verses: 'Domine' is inserted into verse 1 and omitted from verse 3 (after 'qui te expectant'). The Frankish textual transmission is very stable in the early manuscripts.[41] The Gallican Psalter varies from the Roman Psalter in several places which are not reflected in the chant text.[42] In verse 3, the Gallican 'omnes' is reflected in the Romano-Frankish transmission of the chant (except in *Cor3*, which shares 'iniqui' with the Old Roman tradition). *De necessitatibus*, like the second-mode tracts, is clearly based on the Roman Psalter and appears consistently in almost all Mass Proper manuscripts from the beginning of surviving records, as well as in the Old Roman Graduals, and is thus probably of Roman origin.

In the second-mode tracts, the formulaic musical phrases serve to articulate the textual syntax and the biblical verse structure. *De necessitatibus* does not function in the same way. While in the second-mode tracts there are isolated examples of a tract verse being made up of only part of a biblical verse, or of a tract verse being made up of a verse and a half of the Bible, this happens to a much greater extent in *De necessitatibus* (see Table 17).

Table 17. The textual structure of *De necessitatibus*

| *De necessitatibus* | psalm 24 [25] | text structure |
|---|---|---|
| Verse 1 | Verses $17_2$ and 18 | Simple sentence, compound sentence (3 clauses) |
| Verse 2 | Verses 1, 2 and $3_1$ | Simple sentence, simple sentence, compound sentence (clauses 1 and 2) |
| Verse 3 | Verses $3_2$ and $4_1$ | Compound sentence (clause 3), simple sentence |

The construction of the second-mode tract verses was explored in detail in Chapter 2. They generally comprise of two syntactical units – the two halves of a compound sentence, for example – but the first two verses of *De necessitatibus* comprise four

39 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 20. *AOFGC*, 79, cites previous scholars who have put forward this hypothesis, including Peter Wagner, Paolo Ferretti, René Hesbert and Willi Apel.

40 For the text and melodic phrases of *De necessitatibus*, see Appendix 1. For a transcription of the chant from *Orc* and *Fle1*, see Appendix 6.

41 *Fle1*, *Cha1*, *Cor3* and *Den5* have 'inrideant' instead of the usual 'irrideant', and *Coc6* has 'mala' instead of 'uana' (which may represent an attempt to create a clearly understood text).

42 'erue me' rather than 'eripe me' in verse 1; 'uniuersa delicta mea' rather than 'omnia peccata mea' in verse 1; 'qui sustinent te' (the Gallican Psalter has no 'domine' here) rather than 'qui te expectant' in verse 3 and 'confundantur omnes iniqua agens superuacue' rather than 'confundantur iniqui facientes uana' in verse 3.

syntactical units each; this is more than one would expect to find in a second-mode tract text, and cannot simply be divided between four phrases in each verse.

Table 18 shows *De necessitatibus* verses 1 and 2 with the text divided according to the syntax and according to the musical phrases. In the left-hand column, new psalm verses are marked with a capital letter; new clauses and sentences start on a new line. In the right hand column, new melodic phrases after a cadence start on a new line.

TABLE 18. Text divisions in *De necessitatibus* according to the syntax and the musical phrases

| ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SYNTAX | ARRANGED ACCORDING TO MUSICAL PHRASES |
|---|---|
| De necessitatibus meis eripe me | De necessitatibus meis |
| | eripe me domine |
| Vide humilitatem meam | uide |
| | humilitatem meam |
| et laborem meum | et laborem meum |
| et dimitte omnia peccata mea | et dimitte omnia peccata mea |
| Ad te domine leuaui animam meam | V. Ad te domine |
| Deus meus in te confido | leuaui animam meam deus meus |
| non erubescam | in te confido non erubescam |
| Neque irrideant me inimici mei | neque irrideant me |
| | inimici mei |

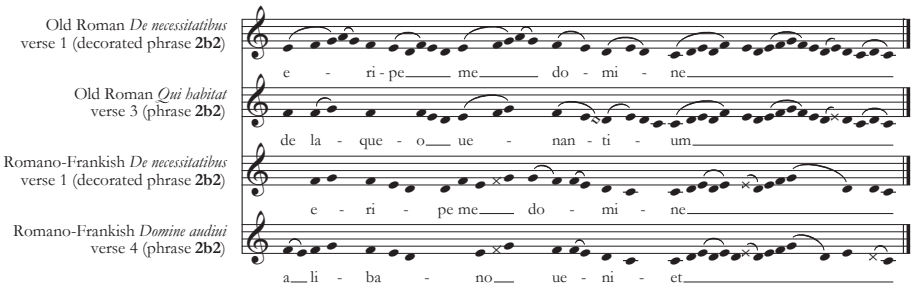
The melodic structure of *De necessitatibus* verse 2 elides the first and second sentences, which belong to different psalm verses: 'To you Lord,/ I have lifted my soul-My God . . .' There is no standard cadence in the Romano-Frankish tradition after 'in te confido', also eliding the two sentences of this psalm verse: 'in you I trust – Let me not be ashamed . . .'. In verse 1, the chant divides between the vocative and the remainder of the first clause of the second psalm verse, as well as between each of the three clauses of that verse, giving one more division than the syntax might lead one to expect.

In *De necessitatibus*, the normal fourfold structure of a tract verse is not in evidence at all.[43] Unlike the usual melodic skeleton of a second-mode tract, where the verses usually have the cadence structure *D*–(*D*)–*C*–*F*–*D*, each verse of *De necessitatibus* returns to a phrase centred on *D* after the first *C* cadence (on 'uide', 'in te confido' and 'qui te expectant'). At first sight, it might appear that these *D* phrases articulate the new psalm verses (*Orp*'s extra verse indication on 'Vide' supports this), or divide the long text of each chant verse into two by rearticulating the verse opening. However, phrase **1g**, used on 'uide' in verse 1, never begins verses. To reflect the psalm verse structure, phrase **1a**, **1e** or **1f** would have been used on 'uide' and phrase **1g** on 'humilitatem meam'. In verse 2, an articulation of the psalm verse structure would require 'Deus meus' to use phrase **1** material rather than 'in te confido', and in verse 3, it would require 'confundantur iniqui/omnes' to use phrase **1** material rather than 'qui te expectant'.

43 For a summary of the differences, see Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 119.

As well as being distinct in the tonal skeleton of each verse, *De necessitatibus* is distinguished from the second-mode tracts by its use of the formulaic material. In the second-mode tracts, a formulaic phrase, once embarked upon, almost always proceeds with inevitability, responding to the number of syllables available and the accent pattern. This is not the case in *De necessitatibus*, as the following examples make clear.

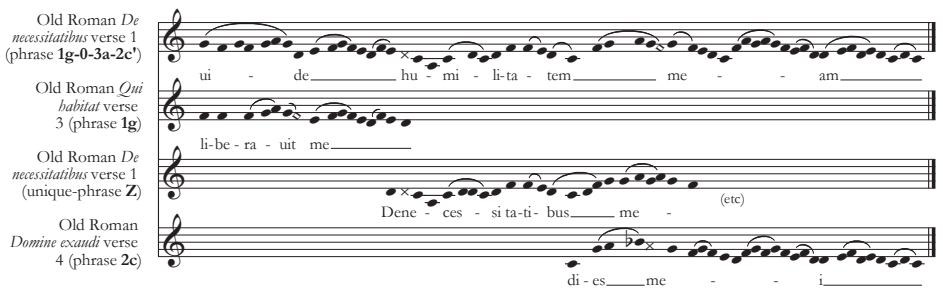
The opening fall *CDCA* of the chant, usually followed by a standard phrase in the Old Roman tradition and by one of three related phrases in the Romano-Frankish tradition, is followed in *De necessitatibus* in both traditions by phrase **Z**. The opening of the second phrase is more decorated than the usual shapes of phrase **2b2**. The Romano-Frankish phrase has an extra *F* at the beginning of the figure on 'me', and an extra *G* at the beginning of the figure on 'do-'. The Old Roman phrase begins with an extra *E*, and has an extra *aG* at the end of each of 'e-' and 'me', expanding the tessitura. It also anticipates the *FED* fall on '-pe' (see Example 84).




EXAMPLE 84

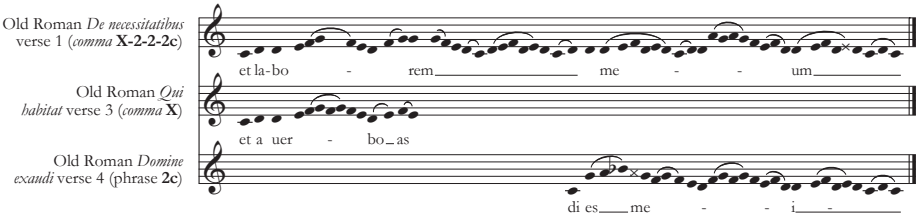
In both traditions, the following portion of text, 'uide humilitatem meam', begins with phrase **1g** (with an open cadence preceded by a unique opening in the Old Roman tradition). There is a return to the low shapes used at the very opening of the chant on 'humilitatem' before 'meam' completes the phrase with a phrase **2** cadence related to phrase **2c** (see Example 85 for a comparison of the Old Roman material with the related phrases).

Following the text cue, 'et laborem meum' uses the same cadence as 'meam' did in the previous clause, preceded by a composite phrase. The Old Roman tradition follows the 'et' text cue to use material related to *comma* **X** on 'et labor-'. There are



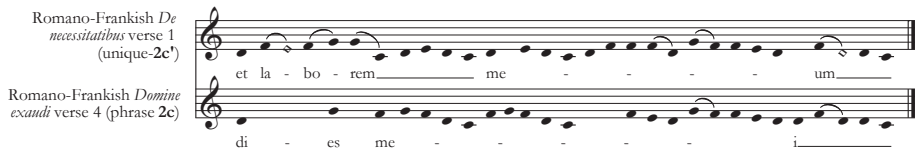

EXAMPLE 85

two incomplete phrase 2 cadences on '-rem' and 'me-', before the final closed cadence on '-um' (see Example 86).




EXAMPLE 86

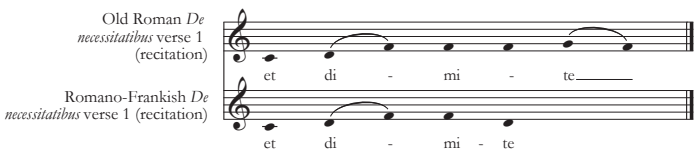
The Romano-Frankish tradition starts with a unique recitation – no other moment in the second-mode tracts has a G–C fall similar to that found on '-rem'. The phrase is quite different from phrase 2c until the last ten notes (see Example 87).[44]




EXAMPLE 87

A text cue is in operation in the use of the phrase 2c cadence on 'meam', 'meum' and 'meus', and there is then a strong associative cue for its use in the remainder of the chant.[45] There seems to have been a move towards using this standard phrase from what may originally have been more varied phrases: this is perhaps still apparent in verse 1 where a non-standard version of phrase 2b2 is used, and in verse 3 on 'uniuersi', where the Romano-Frankish tradition uses phrase Z instead of phrase 2c, as well as in the variant treatment of phrase 2c itself.

The final clause of verse 1 consists of a single compound phrase in the Old Roman tradition which, after a syllabic C–*D*–*F* recitation, begins like phrase 4d but has the phrase 4f cadence (see Example 38 on p. 57). The Romano-Frankish tradition begins with an almost identical recitation (see Example 88), and continues with phrase 4d.




EXAMPLE 88

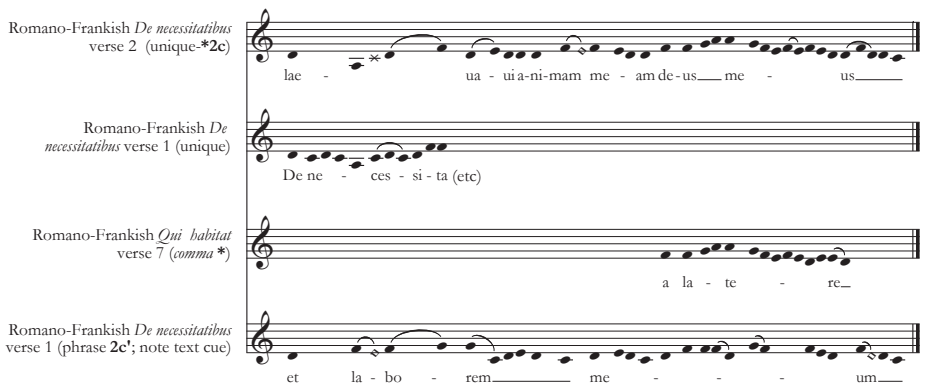
In the Romano-Frankish tradition, the recitation and opening shapes of phrase 4d (rise to *a*, fall to *D*, rise to G, fall to *D* or C) found on 'et dimitte omnia' are also used in the Romano-Frankish tradition for verse-ending phrases with long

44 Despite this, Karp labels 'et laborem meum' as phrase $C_{II}$ (phrase 2c): see *AOFGC*, 116.

45 Karp writes that phrase 2c is particularly associated with this chant: *AOFGC*, 346.

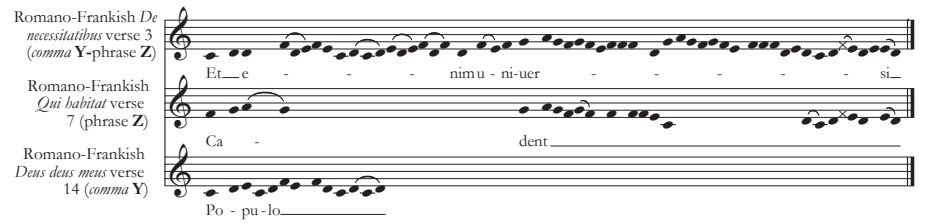
recitation.[46] It is possible that this *De necessitatibus* shape formed the model for a group of Romano-Frankish phrases.[47] Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, this opening may be original to the idiom, but lost in the Old Roman tradition both from the phrase **4d/e** nexus as this was replaced by phrase **4f** and phrase **4a–f** in the oral transmission, and from the verse-ending phrases with long recitation, as their openings became standardised within phrases **4a** and **4a–f**. The only remaining trace of it in the Old Roman tradition is in verse 1 of *De necessitatibus*. Use of the phrase **4f** cadence in verse 1 of the Old Roman tradition, as well as in verse 2 in both traditions, may be a further example of moving towards standardisation from the short phrase **4d** cadence.

In the Old Roman verse 2, 'leuaui animam meam deus meus' uses straightforward *D-F* recitation before phrase **2c**. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, the phrase opens with a fall to the opening tessitura *D–A*, followed by a low recitation on *D*, the beginning of the *comma* * melisma, and the very end of the phrase **2c** melisma, as seen on 'meum' in the previous verse (the text cue is clear). Neither tradition entirely uses formulaic shapes, and the Romano-Frankish phrase is a centonised composite (see Example 89).




EXAMPLE 89

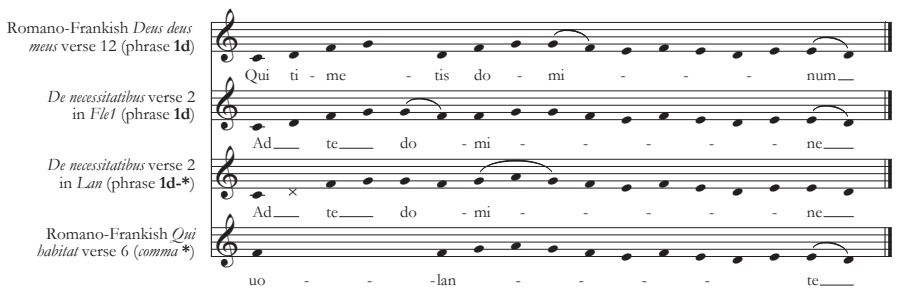
In verse 3 the Romano-Frankish tradition uses a composite phrase on 'et enim uniuersi': *comma* **Y** followed by phrase **Z**, with an extra repetition in the melisma in the *Fle1* tradition (see Example 90).




EXAMPLE 90

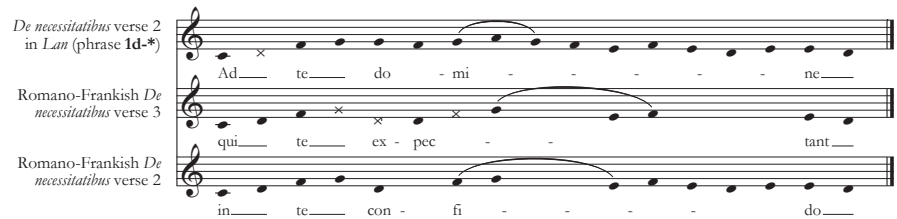
46 *Deus deus meus* verses 3 and 10, *Domine audiui* verse 2, and *Domine exaudi* verses 1, 2 and 4.
47 *AOFGC*, 109–12.

In verse 2, the Old Roman tradition begins with phrase **1d**, as one would expect with a phrase ending 'domine', and also with the textual cue of 'Ad te domine' being a short prepositional phrase plus verb, like 'Ad te clamauerunt' and 'In te sperauerunt'. The same happens in *Fle1*, but usually the Romano-Frankish material (represented in Example 91 by *Lan*) begins like phrase **1d** and ends with the *comma* * cadence (which usually functions as a decorated recitation before phrase **2**) rather than with the usual phrase **1d** cadence, to which it is closely related. It would appear that the chant originally used a unique phrase close in shape to the *comma* * cadence and phrase **1d**, and that the process of moving towards a stereotyped phrase is more in evidence in the Old Roman tradition and in *Fle1* than in the Romano-Frankish tradition more generally.




EXAMPLE 91

A different stage in the process of progressive stereotyping is apparent on 'in te confido' and 'qui te expectant'. In the Old Roman tradition, these two phrases use phrase **1d**, following the text cue of 'Ad te' at the beginning of verse 2. In the Romano-Frankish tradition, 'in te confido' and 'qui te expectant' are less closely related to the formulaic structure of the genre (see Example 92).




EXAMPLE 92

According to Parry's principle of oral thrift, first applied to chant by Treitler,[48] or Pfisterer's hypothesis of progressive stereotyping,[49] it is most likely that these two phrases began as non-formulaic phrases and moved towards the formulaic phrase **1d** in the Old Roman tradition under the influence of the 'Ad/qui/in te' text cue and the normalising tendencies of a long oral transmission. If this is correct, then

48 Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 368–72.
49 *CR*.

the version of the chant adopted by the Franks, while using a *D* phrase at these two points, may not have used phrases with verse-opening connotations within the genre of the second-mode tracts.

Structural changes to the melodic state of the chant in both Rome and Francia after its adoption in the Frankish empire are almost certain, given the differences between the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish versions of the chant. As well as the foregoing examples, the unnotated text in *Aki5* provides a further hint that this may have been the case. Gaps were left by the text scribe for melismas on the first 'me––is', on 'uniuer––si' and on 'ua––na', which are consistent with melisma placement in the notated sources. However, the melisma anticipated for 'et––enim' does not reflect the usual phrase shape, where 'et' has only two notes and the melisma is on 'e(nim)', and there are many other melismas in *De necessitatibus* for which gaps were not left by the scribe of *Aki5* (who gradually abandoned the practice entirely as the manuscript progressed).

In the second-mode tracts, use of phrase **3c** outside the final verse, use of phrase **2c**, phrase **Z** or *comma* *, or the parallel use of distinctive (non-standard) material in two places within a chant serves to connect or emphasise important portions of text, as discussed in Chapter 4. If these procedures were considered to be in operation in *De necessitatibus*, then almost every clause in the chant would be treated with musical exclamation marks (see Table 19).

TABLE 19. Emphatic second-mode tract phrases in *De necessitatibus*

| TEXT | EMPHASIS |
|---|---|
| 1. De necessitatibus meis | Unique – **Z** |
| eripe me domine | unique opening |
| uide | **1g** out of context |
| humilitatem meam | Link to opening, **2c'** |
| et laborem meum | **2c'** |
| et dimitte omnia | Composite material |
| peccata mea | |
| 2. Ad te domine | Composite *comma* */ **1d** (Romano-Frankish) |
| leuaui animam meam | Non-formulaic |
| deus meus | *comma* * – **2c'/2c** |
| in te confido | Non-formulaic (Romano-Frankish) |
| non erubescam | **2c** |
| neque inrideant me | **3c** in penultimate verse (Romano-Frankish) |
| inimici mei | |
| 3. Et enim | Non-formulaic (Romano-Frankish) |
| uniuersi | **Z/2c** |
| qui te expectant | Non-formulaic (Romano-Frankish) |
| non confundentur | **2c** |
| confundantur iniqui/omnes | |
| facientes uana | |

Only the final phrase of each verse categorically does not use techniques which could, in a second-mode tract, be regarded as emphatic. The use of phrase **3c** and **4f**

in the penultimate as well as the final verse probably acted as a cue for the responsorial performance of the chant, with a return to the respond after each. Rather than supposing that almost every moment in the chant is treated with musical emphasis, it makes more sense to hypothesise that *De necessitatibus* is constructed on different aesthetic principles from the second-mode tracts, and does not share their emphatic procedures.

## Conclusion: genre definition and the second-mode tracts

Amalar of Metz (died *c.* 850) mentioned tracts and their performance several times in his liturgical writings, contrasting the tracts with responsorial genres: 'this is the difference between the responsory, to which the chorus answers, and the tract, to which no-one does'.[50] *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus*, it seems clear, would have been recognised by Amalar as tracts. The other three chants, however, would not. *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are usually called responsorial graduals in the chant sources, have verses numbered responsorially in several of the early manuscripts in my sample, and will have had a responsorial mode of performance in some places at some times. They sometimes seem to have been performed as solo chants, although it is possible that the soloist only ever sang the verses, with the respond performed in full or in part by the *schola* after some or after all verses.

By calling *De necessitatibus* a second-mode tract, which was common by the eleventh century, one has to explain its differentiation from the usual melodic structure of the genre. Some have seen this chant as being younger than the second-mode tracts, or as being the youngest of the second-mode tracts.[51] Others argue that *De necessitatibus* was the first second-mode tract and that it forms the model for the other chants, which were composed in increasingly stereotyped ways.[52] *De necessitatibus* has an unusual tonal skeleton, some entirely non-formulaic moments, and many composite phrases. While closely related to the second-mode tracts, it is not constructed according to the same tonal, formal, textual, formulaic, or rhetorical principles. Despite the fact that, in graduals, the melodies of the respond and the verse are usually clearly differentiated, unlike *De necessitatibus*,[53] my analysis confirms that *De necessitatibus* is a gradual rather than a tract, whose resemblance to the second-mode tracts by use of shared material, sometimes within the same formal contexts, has become more apparent over time through a combination of textual cues and oral thrift. It is neither the first nor the last of the second-mode tracts; its peculiar use of the formulaic phrases need not be rationalised within the

50 'Hoc differt inter responsorium, cui chorus respondet, et tractum, cui nemo': see *AOFGC*, 437–8.

51 Hucke interpreted this chant as being a gradual, purposefully going beyond the already established norms of second-mode tracts: see Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 119. Schmidt also tentatively hypothesised that it is the youngest of the chants: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 24.

52 See *AOFGC*, 83–5 and 109–12, which gives a clear summary of its treatment as a gradual in the Middle Ages as well as arguing for its chronological precedence among the tracts.

53 Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 117.

usual constraints of the genre. One final clue to the status of this chant lies hidden in the documentary record: unlike the second-mode tracts, *De necessitatibus* was not singled out by Angilram of Metz for special payment.

Recent scholarship emphasises 'the role of genre as a system of norms to which works may be related, a code by virtue of which they become intelligible, coherent and meaningful'.[54] Under such a definition, the code shared by four of the chants in this study is the treatment of text, presence of formulaic musical structures, and use of emphatic melodic material to promote particular theological messages which were described in Chapters 2 to 4 of the present study. In this approach, *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are indeed genuine second-mode tracts rather than graduals with many verses.[55] I have adopted these compositional criteria because the primary focus of the current study is compositional process, but it is clear that the way one groups material generically both reflects the understanding one has of it, and prompts certain types of investigation. Liturgical context and performance practice may be secondary concerns in the current study, but it is important to be aware that the understanding promoted here of *De necessitatibus* as musically peripheral to the genre must not pre-judge any assessment of its generic position in terms of liturgy and performance, where it sits fairly comfortably within the same genre as *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*.

54 Jacobsson and Treitler, 'Tropes and the Concept of Genre', 61.

55 Hesbert identified the chants as 'graduels à plusiers versets' (see Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 116); for a characteristic assertion that the chants are tracts, see McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 288.

# 6

## *ERIPE ME* AND THE FRANKISH UNDERSTANDING OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS IN THE EARLY-NINTH CENTURY

In the Roman liturgy adopted in Francia in the mid-eighth century, the tract *Qui habitat* was sung within the Good Friday liturgy. This was retained in Rome until the suppression of Old Roman chant in the thirteenth century.[1] In the Romano-Frankish tradition, however, it was replaced at some point by a newly composed second-mode tract, *Eripe me*. In the first half of the tenth century, this chant was identified as 'nuperrime compilatum' in *De Divinis Officiis* (Pseudo-Alcuin).[2] However, the composition and incorporation into the liturgy of *Eripe me* considerably predates this identification.

The Roman practice of singing *Qui habitat* on Good Friday is reflected in several of the *Ordines Romani*.[3] Since these Frankish redactions of Roman liturgical practice often retain archaisms, the presence of *Qui habitat* in a manuscript does not necessarily mean either that it predates the composition of *Eripe me*, or that it predates the adoption of *Eripe me* in a particular locale. Graduals and Cantatoria are more likely to reflect current practice rather than to preserve archaisms, since they had a practical function. To retain a rubric referring to *Qui habitat* while copying an *Ordo Romanus* would not affect daily practice at the institution in question; to copy the chant text in a Gradual would be more likely to. However, *Qui habitat* is still assigned to Good Friday in the ninth- to tenth-century *Aki5*, by which time *Eripe me* had been regularly appearing in manuscripts for more than a generation. This warns us that the presence of *Qui habitat* in earlier manuscripts may also reflect local archaisms. The presence of *Eripe me* in a manuscript securely demonstrates its existence by the time of its compilation, of course, but its absence does not mean that it had not yet been composed nor that it had certainly not yet been encountered by the manuscript compiler.

1 Helmut Hucke and Joseph Dyer, 'Old Roman Chant', *New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

2 PL 101, col. 1209. Vogel dates this source to before 950.

3 *Ordo Romanus XXIII* (in the ninth-century Einsiedeln 326); *Ordo Romanus XXIV* in *Leo3* (end of eighth century or early-ninth century); most manuscript sources of *Ordo Romanus XXVII*; *Ordo Romanus XXVIII* in COLOGNE Bibl. Cap. 138 (probably first quarter of ninth century); *Ordo Romanus XXIX*; *Ordo Romanus XXXB*. For editions of all the *Ordines Romani*, see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*.

The chant sources confirm the existence of *Eripe me* by *c.* 850. After its earliest dated appearance in *Cor2* (*c.* 853), it appears in *Coc6* (860–80), *Mon6* (mid-ninth century, or second half of ninth century), *Sam2* (ca 875–6), *Den7* (877–82), *Cha1* (ninth- to tenth century), *Gal1* (early-tenth century – before 920), *Lan* (early-tenth century), *Fle1* (tenth century), and, in fact, almost universally in Graduals and Cantatoria from the late-ninth century onwards. Several *Ordo Romanus* manuscripts from the later-ninth and tenth centuries also attest to its existence at this time.[4] More pertinently, *Ordo Romanus XIV*, preserved in WOLFENBÜTTEL Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 4175, states that either *Qui habitat* or *Eripe me* is sung on Good Friday. This manuscript has been dated to the early-ninth century, providing an earlier *terminus ante quem* for *Eripe me* than has previously been noted.[5]

The presence of *Qui habitat* on Good Friday in the *Stipendia* of Angilram of Metz (see p. 116) is probably a true reflection of Metz practice *c.* 768–88 since the *Stipendia* were compiled for a pragmatic and practical purpose rather than as a record of past or distant practice, or out of antiquarian interest (although their copying in the surviving manuscript, dated *c.* 1000, was certainly antiquarian in motivation).[6] Whenever and wherever *Eripe me* was composed, it had certainly not been accepted in Metz before 768.

*Eripe me* may well have been known by Amalar of Metz by the 830s, when he commented in *De Ordine Antiphonarii*[7] and *Liber Officialis* (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*)[8] that the tract *Qui habitat* was sung on Good Friday according to Roman use or according to the ancient custom of the Roman church.[9] These comments perhaps imply that he knew of an alternative to the Roman custom (*viz.* the singing of *Eripe me* instead of *Qui habitat*). Amalar spent some time in Rome, and took a close interest in the Roman liturgy. He 'claims to have added to his revised antiphoner many proper antiphons of saints, which were lacking in the older Roman tradition

4 *Ordo Romanus XXXI*, most manuscripts of *Ordo Romanus XXVIII*, *Ordo Romanus XXVII* in a few manuscripts (Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12405 (tenth century, Saint Germain), Troyes, MS 1008, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2399 (ninth century, Mabillon) and Vatican, Palat., MS 47 (ninth to tenth century)), *Ordo Romanus XXVIII* in Zurich Bibl. Cant. ms 102, and *Ordo Romanus XXIV* in Albi, MS 42, and Saint Gall, Stiftsbibl. MS 614.

5 Andrieu dated the manuscript to the early-ninth century and Vogel writes that 'the author of *Ordo* XXV was a monk of Wissembourg (Alsace), the compiler of the *Guelferbytanus* 4175; it was composed early in the ninth century but after *Ordo* XXIV which it uses': Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 171. I wish to record my thanks to Rebecca Maloy for supplying this reference at a crucial moment.

6 London, BL, Additional MS 15222, from Besançon.

7 Written *c.* 831–4 according to Kenneth Levy, 'Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995), 171–86: 178. Nowacki writes that Amalar's *De ordine antiphonarii* was completed no earlier than 844, but this dating has presumably been superseded. Edward Nowacki, 'The Gregorian Office Antiphons and the Comparative Method', *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985), 243–75: 252.

8 Several editions were made in the 820s and 830s; the last edition was completed *c.* 835 according to J. M. Hanssens (ed.), *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols, in Studi e testi 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948–50), i, 75.

9 Amalar, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, PL 105, 1184c : 'Qui [Qui habitat] et secundum romanum usum cantatur in parasceve post lectionem, in qua, secundum Osee, nostra mortification ad exemplum Christi demonstrator'. Amalar *De Ordine Antiphonarii*, PL 105, 1260A: 'Post quadraginta dies, id est in parasceve, canitur idem tractus [Qui habitat] iuxta morem antiquum romanae ecclesiae'.

observed in Metz, on the grounds that he found them in a more recent Roman antiphoner'.[10] No ninth-century commentator was better placed to point out differences between the older Roman practice as reflected in the Metz tradition, the Roman practice he encountered as a Frankish ambassador to Pope Gregory IV, and the practices he encountered on his extensive travels within Western Europe.[11]

One group of late-eighth- and early-ninth-century manuscripts enriches the picture further. *Den6* (first half of ninth century) gives no tracts for Good Friday. *Leo3* (late-eighth or early-ninth century) has only one Good Friday tract, *Domine audiui*. *Rei5* (790s) has *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* on Good Friday.[12] *Ordo Romanus XXXA*, preserved in *Leo3*, has 'respo[nsorum]' twice, perhaps indicating the same tradition.[13] Possibly *Eripe me* had not yet been composed by the time these manuscripts were compiled.[14] Alternatively, one or more of these manuscripts may reflect a local archaic practice despite the fact that *Eripe me* was already circulating elsewhere. A final possibility is that there was uncertainty about the appropriate Good Friday liturgy and the prospect of replacing the familiar and authoritative Roman chant with the new *Eripe me*: both chants were omitted in *Den6*; *Qui habitat* was omitted but not replaced in the Gradual of *Leo3*; and *Qui habitat* was omitted and replaced with *Domine exaudi*, securely associated with Holy Week, in *Rei5* and in *Ordo Romanus XXXA* in *Leo3*.

The evidence, both conclusive and circumstantial, amassed here, suggests that *Eripe me* was composed in the early-ninth century and probably before 830. Supposing that the non-standard tradition represented by *Rei5* and *Leo3* reflects a transitional stage within the Good Friday liturgy, where *Eripe me* was known but not regarded as an authentic part of the authoritative tradition to be copied in manuscripts, one might tentatively date its composition as early as the 790s.

## The textual tradition

*Eripe me* is based on Psalm 139 [140]: 1–10 and 14 (the last verse of the psalm), a text choice similar in structure to those of the long second-mode tracts *Deus*

10 Nowacki, 'The Gregorian Office Antiphons', 252.

11 The list of places he visited, for short or long periods, includes Tours, Trier, Hamburg, Toul, Constantinople, Nonantola, Aix-la-Chapelle, Paris, Rome, Corbie, Thionville, Lyon and Metz: see Allen Cabaniss, 'The Personality of Amalarius', *Church History* 20 (1951), 34–41: 39.

12 This tradition hangs on in *Ordo Romanus XXXII* in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14088, from late-ninth-century Corbie.

13 It is possible, as Jeffery suggests, that the same is intended in *Laon266*, where the two tracts appear consecutively, in the opposite order: see Jeffery, 'An Early Cantatorium Fragment', 245. Each is preceded by a large +, which suggests that something untoward has occurred. Perhaps the chants were copied out of order, and the intention was to provide the tracts for Holy Week: *Deus deus meus* for Passion Sunday, *Domine exaudi* for Holy Wednesday and *Domine audiui* for Good Friday. If this is the case, then the second Good Friday tract is lost in the lacuna beyond the end of the fragment. In any case, *Eripe me* was certainly in existence by the time of *Laon266*.

14 This possibility lies behind Karp's tentative dating of *Eripe me*'s composition to *c.* 815–40: see *AOFGC*, 316.

*deus meus* and *Qui habitat*. Like all four of the core-repertory tracts, the verse ordering implies *in directum* performance.

As the analytical table in Appendix 5 shows, the tract text is almost identical to the Roman Psalter text.[15] This immediately casts a question over the geographical origin of the chant. One might expect a Frankish composition of this time to use either a gaulois version of the text or the Gallican Psalter version, since the wide diffusion of the Gallican Psalter through the Frankish Empire dates from the early-ninth century.[16] A Roman origin for the chant seems very unlikely, given the lack of any direct evidence linking it to Rome, the presence of *Qui habitat* on Good Friday in most of the *Ordo Romanus* witnesses and in all three Old Roman Graduals, and the Frankish assertions from the 830s onwards that *Qui habitat* was the Roman Good Friday tract. The Roman Psalter was used in England,[17] and I will return later in this chapter to the possibility of an Insular influence on *Eripe me*.

## Text divisions in *Eripe me*

As in the core-repertory chants, the text is usually divided into phrases according to the syntax (see the analytical table in Appendix 1). Separate musical phrases are often given to individual clauses, to a prepositional phrase, or to a vocative. Alternatively, a subject might be divided from its predicate. In verse 2, the text is divided to give a balanced amount of text for each musical phrase rather than giving the prepositional phrase 'in corde' a separate musical phrase. The same occurs in the second half of verse 6, where the prepositional phrase 'iuxta iter' is too short to have phrase **3a**. The second half of verse 9 contains much more text than is usual for a tract half verse. Where in the core repertory one might expect the text to be further subdivided, in *Eripe me* the solution is to have phrase **3** with very long recitation.

There are two occasions where the syntax is not followed, both involving use of *comma* * which, in the core-repertory tracts, acts as an introduction to phrase **2** material, with which the text is always syntactically linked.[18] In verse 3, one might

15 The gaulois Psalter variants are included to show that *Eripe me* is certainly not derived from any of the gaulois Psalters included in Weber, *Le psautier romain*. *Mon6* has three variants which bring it closer to the Gallican Psalter tradition (all in verse 9: 'Non tradas me desiderio meo peccatori cogitauerunt contra me ne derelinquas me ne umquam exaltentur'). Similarly, *Fle1* omits 'et' in verse 11, which brings that verse in line with the Gallican Psalter. The other variants are concentrated on the word 'laque-'. In verse 5, *Coc6* and *Gal1* have 'laqueos', like the Roman Psalter, whereas *Mon6*, *Lan*, *Cha1* and *Fle1* have 'laqueum', like the Gallican Psalter. In verse 6, *Mon6*, *Cha1* and *Fle1* have 'laqueum', like both psalter traditions, while *Lan* has 'laqueo' and *Coc6* and *Gal1* have 'laqueos', like the previous verse. The influence of the Gallican Psalter on these variants is clear, and it seems that the scribes of *Coc6* and *Gal1* may have overestimated the difference between the correct chant text and their usual Gallican Psalter text for Psalm 139 [140], by choosing the same unfamiliar form in both verses 5 and 6.

16 McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production'.

17 Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), 28; Weber, *Le psautier romain*, ix.

18 See pp. 68–9.

expect to encounter phrase **1** material on the main clause ('Acuerunt linguas suas') and phrase **2** on the prepositional phrase ('sicut serpentes'). Instead, 'linguas suas' uses *comma* *, connecting this text with what follows, against the syntax. In verse 6, a syntactical division of the text would be 'Et funes extenderunt/in laqueum/ pedibus meis', with each prepositional phrase receiving its own melodic phrase, or dividing after the verb, with phrase **2** material for the two prepositional phrases. Instead, 'extenderunt' uses *comma* *, connecting the verb with what follows, against the syntax. Either the cantors divided against the syntax on both occasions or, by the time *Eripe me* was composed, the function of *comma* * as an introduction to phrase **2** material was no longer understood, although it is preserved in the manuscript witnesses to the core-repertory second-mode tracts.[19]

## Use of formulaic phrases

The phrase shapes used in *Eripe me* are shown in the analytical table in Appendix 1. Several phrases are used in *Eripe me* under the same circumstances and in a compatible manner with those of the core repertory: phrase **0b** at the beginning of the chant, phrase **4f** at the end, and phrases **3a**, **3b**, and **3c** after the half-verse caesura.

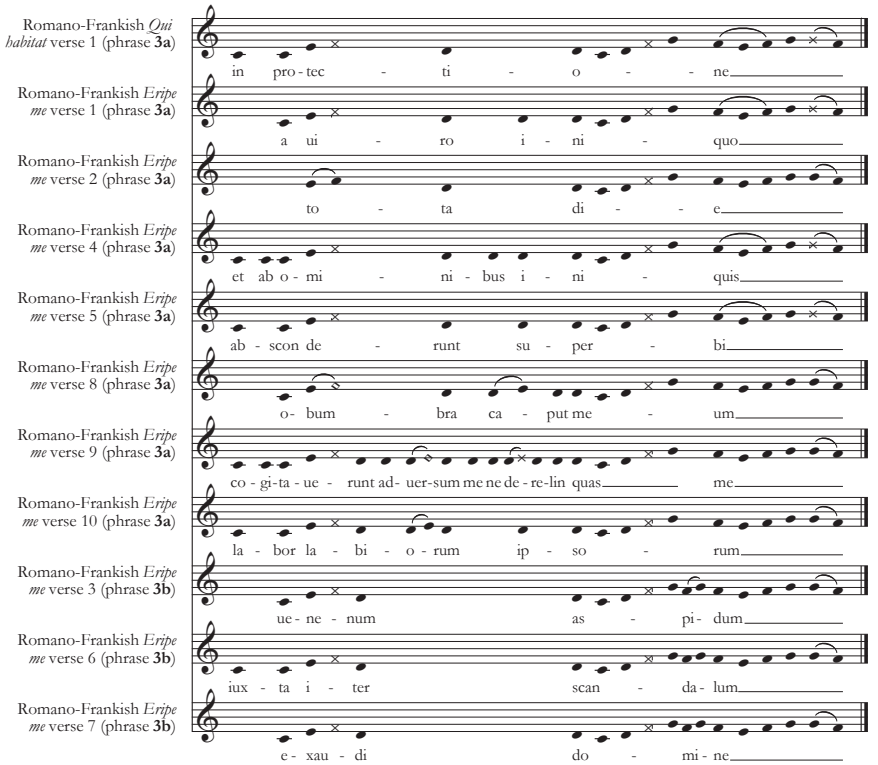
In phrase **3**, for example, the chant as notated in *Fle1* has the usual association of accents and melodic shapes: the opening recitation on C is followed by *EF* on the first accent, followed by *D* recitation (sometimes with *DE* on accents) until the final accent (see Example 93).

As in the core-repertory chants, phrase **1c** is used in the second verse, and phrase **1d** is associated with texts ending 'domin-' ('Dixi domino' in verse 7 and 'Domine domine' in verse 8).

Other phrases appear in the same form in *Fle1* as in the core-repertory chants, but not under the same circumstances. While in the core-repertory second-mode tracts, phrases **1a** and **1b** are the standard phrases, in *Eripe me*, each is found only once. Phrase **1a** is used in verse 5 on 'Qui cogitauerunt', perhaps following the text cue of *Domine exaudi* verse 4 'Quia defecerunt'; both are followed by phrase **1g**. Phrase **1b** is used in verse 4 on 'Custodi me', perhaps following the text cue of 'Inuocauit me' in *Qui habitat* verse 12. The influence of a further text cue may be seen in *Eripe me* verse 6, where phrase **2b2–2a3** is used, with the opening 'in laqueum' following the text cue of 'de laqueo' in *Qui habitat* verse 3. Several phrases appear to follow the formal model of *Deus deus meus*, as will be described below.

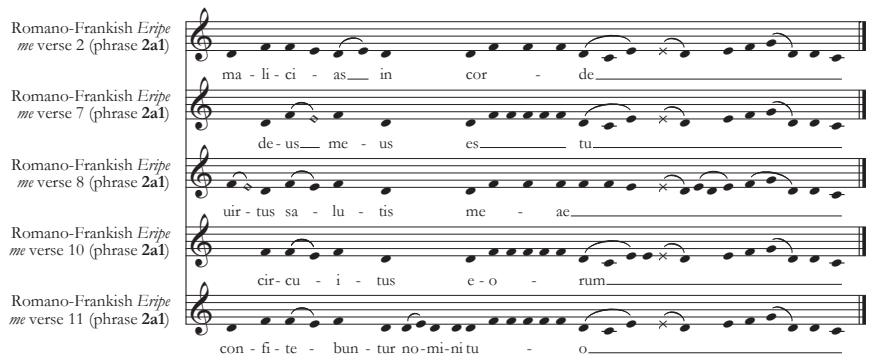
At some points, however, the usual role of particular accent patterns in prompting the use of particular phrases, or the use of particular melodic patterns within phrases, is not in evidence in *Eripe me*. Phrase **2a1** is used five times within *Eripe me*, but the usual accent pattern /–/– is only present in verse 8. Verse 11 has more text

19 In the first half of verse 9, the prepositional phrase divides the sentence: 'Ne tradas me/ a desiderio meo/ peccatori'. Once again, the cantors have used *comma* *, on 'a desiderio meo'. Unlike verses 3 and 6, the solution of moving to phrase **2** material at this point is syntactically appropriate.




EXAMPLE 93

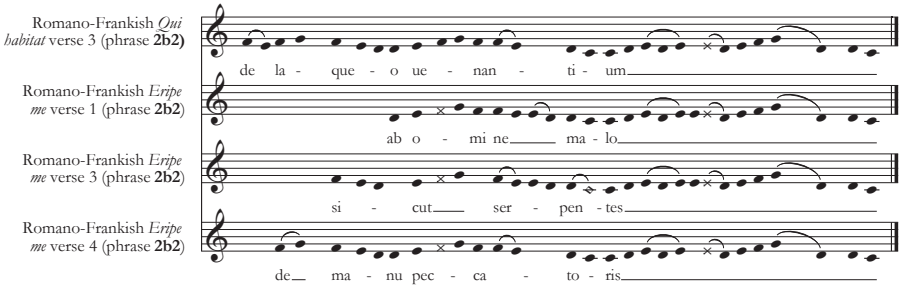
than usual within phrase **2a1** and has recitation on *D* in the middle of the phrase to accommodate the extra text (see Example 94).




EXAMPLE 94

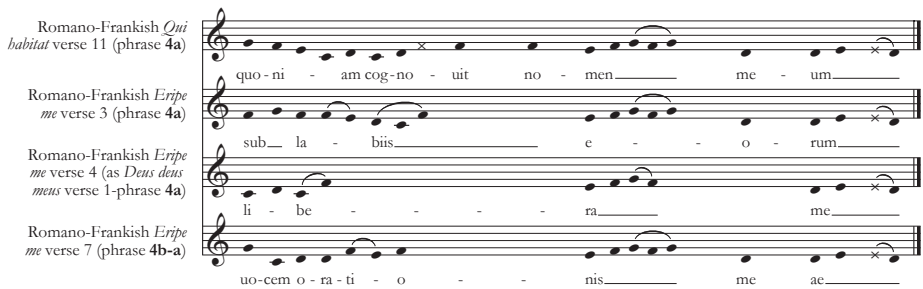
Phrase **2b2** is used in verses 1, 3 and 4, despite the fact that all of these phrases end /– rather than /– –, which is the accent pattern associated with the phrase in

the core repertory. The usual association of *FFE* with the final accent is overridden, and the ante-penultimate (unaccented) syllable receives the fall. The version of the phrase found in *Fle1* has an ornament in the rise *EFG*, not found in the core-repertory chants (see Example 95).



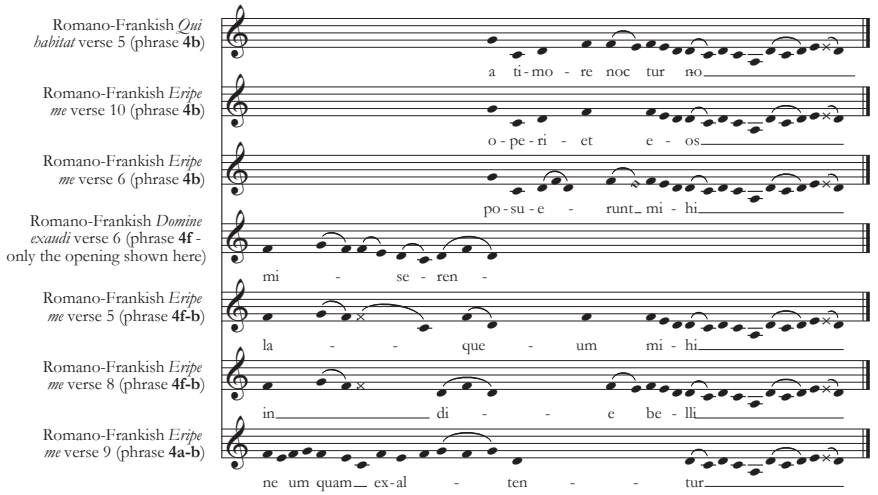

EXAMPLE 95

In the core repertory, phrase **4a** is used with the accent pattern /–/– and phrase **4b** with the accent pattern /– –/–. This association is not followed in *Eripe me*. Use of phrase **4a** is non-standard on all three occasions (see Example 96). In verse 3, the opening recitation is unique. In verse 4, the phrase begins like *Deus deus meus* verse 1, with the *CD CF* opening. In verse 7, the opening *G C* fall is characteristic of phrase **4b** (compare with Example 97). The conventions of phrase **4a** have been entirely overridden in all three cases.




EXAMPLE 96

The phrase **4b** cadence is used to end the remaining verses, except for the final verse (see Example 97). While the phrase is used in the standard way in verses 6 and 10 (although without the closing accent pattern /– –/– in verse 6), the phrase **4b** cadence is preceded by the phrase **4f** opening in verses 5 and 8, and with the phrase **4a** opening in verse 9 (compare with Example 96).




EXAMPLE 97

## *Eripe me* and heresy

In patristic exegesis, Psalm 139 [140] was not associated with the Passion, but was interpreted as the Church crying for protection from evil, from the devil and particularly from heretics.[20] Similarly, in the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre (*c.* 841–908), God will hear the faithful as they struggle against heretics and the devil.[21] The Utrecht Psalter was copied in Reims between 816 and 823 and its illustration of Psalm 139 [140] shows that the same exegetical tradition was current in the Frankish empire in the early-ninth century. Christ, carrying a cross staff, shields (with a wreath) the head of the psalmist (verse 8). The psalmist points to those who imagine mischief in their hearts (dressed as soldiers, in armour, verse 2). There is a group of soldiers with two serpents pointing at the psalmist, and another group (on the right hand side of the image) spreads a net; at the top right-hand side, angels are throwing torches and brimstone at the soldiers. In this illustration, Christ and the forces of heaven protect the psalmist.[22] Despite the consistency of the exegetical tradition, there is no correlation in *Eripe me* between emphatic musical phrases and portions of text fundamental to the heresy interpretation.

20 See, for example, St Augustine's commentary on this psalm in *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, 2012–25 A translation is available online at <http://www.ccel.org >; see also Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, PL 70, col. 994–9; Bede, *In Psalmorum librum exegesis*, PL 93, col. 1094.

21 Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, PL 131, col. 810–13.

22 Fol. 78v. Images of the Psalter are available in Koert van der Horst, Willaim Noel, and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld (eds.), *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David* (Westrenen, 1996). There is a complete colour facsimile at <http://psalter.library.uu.nl>.

## The relationship between *Eripe me* and *Deus deus meus*, and the reading of both as Passion chants

The direct parallels between *Eripe me* and *Deus deus meus* are well known (see Table 20). In verse 1, they share the same opening and closing phrases. Verse 2 is identical throughout. The first halves of verses 3 and 9 are closely related, and the ends of the chants are almost identical, with the most notable parallel being the use of phrase **1d** (outside the usual 'domin-' textual context in *Eripe me*).[23] Phrase **2d** appears three times in *Eripe me* and only in *Deus deus meus* among the core-repertory second-mode tracts.

Table 20. Direct parallels between *Eripe me* and *Deus deus meus*

| *Eripe me* verse | *Eripe me* | phrases in *Eripe me* | parallels in *Deus deus meus* | *Deus deus meus* verse |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Eripe me | **0b** | **0b** | 1 |
| | libera me | last phrase: As *Deus deus meus* verse 1 | As 'deus meus' then **4c** cadence | |
| 2 | Qui cogitauerunt | **1c** | **1c** | 2 |
| | malitias in corde | **2a1** | **2a1** | |
| | tota die | **3a** | **3a** | |
| | constituebant proelia | **4c** | **4c** | |
| 3 | Acuerunt | **1e** | **1e** | 3 |
| | linguas suas sicut serpentes | ***2b2** | ***2b1** | |
| 9 | Ne tradas me | **1f** | **1f** | 11 |
| | a desiderio meo peccatori | ***2d** | ***'2d** | |
| 11 | Verumtamen iusti | **1d** | **1d** | 13 |
| | confitebuntur nomini tuo | **2a1** | *syllaba* **W–2a1** | |
| | et habitabunt recti | **3c** | **3c** | |
| | cum uultu tuo | **4f** | **. . .4f** | 14 |

These parallels suggest strongly that the composition of *Eripe me* was not undertaken *de novo*, according to the compositional principles of the genre, but that certain verses of *Deus deus meus* formed models for verses of *Eripe me*. Since all four of the core-repertory tracts were well known at the time when *Eripe me* was composed (indeed, the textual parallels with *Domine exaudi* and *Qui habitat* are reflected in musical parallels), the close relationship between the two chants was a matter of conscious and purposeful choice.

*Deus deus meus*, Psalm 21 [22], is the archetypal Passion psalm. *Eripe me* was composed for the Good Friday liturgy, in which the Passion of Christ reaches its climax. The parallel between the opening verses of the two chants sets up an expectation at the beginning of *Eripe me* that the Passion of Christ will be the theme in

23 Karp considers the use of the phrase in verses 7 and 8 to reflect a similar formal parallel, although I consider it to be following a text cue: see *AOFGC*, 103. On the parallels between the two chants, see also Schmidt 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 17.

*Eripe me* as it was undoubtedly so in *Deus deus meus*. The cry for help in *Eripe me* verse 1 is thematically reminiscent of the petition at the beginning of *Deus deus meus*. Phrase **2d** is used three times in *Deus deus meus*: in verse 7 on '(I) am a worm and not a man' (this is a reference to Christ humbled at the Passion; see pp. 98–9), in verse 8 on 'All who saw me mocked me' (a Passion prophecy, see pp. 97–8) and in verse 11 on '(Free me) from the lion's mouth' (where the lion is a metaphor for the devil see p. 99). In *Eripe me* verse 5, phrase **2d** is used for '(Free me from those who have plotted to trip up) my steps', which thematically resonates with *Deus deus meus* verse 11. The text of *Eripe me* verse 9 ('Do not deliver me to the wicked, against my desire') promotes the same message, and the first half of this verse is musically treated in parallel with *Deus deus meus* verse 11, with emphatic material throughout: **1f *2d**. The musical paralleling of the two pleas for deliverance in *Eripe me* with the prayer in *Deus deus meus* asking for deliverance from the devil (as lion), and with two references to the humiliation of Christ at the Passion gives a particular interpretative focus to *Eripe me* not just as a plea for deliverance, but as the voice of Christ crying out on the Cross.

*Eripe me* uses phrase **Z**, associated in other chants with the devil, on 'Caput' (verse 10): 'The leader (of those surrounding me, the work of their lips shall conceal them)'. This 'leader' seems by association to be the devil. As discussed on p. 93, phrase **Z** is also associated with the snare of earthly life, which tempts the faithful to avoid martyrdom. In *Eripe me*, verse 6, phrase **Z** is used on the text 'and ropes (they have laid out as a snare for my feet)'. The use of phrase **Z** twice in *Eripe me* connects the text into a rich web of association referring both to the devil as tormenter and to the temptation of martyrs (which, elsewhere in the repertory, is more specifically connected to the Passion). The parallels with *Deus deus meus* and the use of emphatic phrases in *Eripe me* are consonant with a Passion-related reading of the text, and suggest that the late-eighth- or early-ninth-century cantors were aware of the emphatic nature and theological resonances of these phrases.

## The offertory *Custodi me* and the tract *Eripe me*

*Qui habitat*, the original second tract on Good Friday, was musically constructed to emphasise God's protection of the tempted Christ, with some Passiontide resonances, and it would appear that some liturgist in high authority in the Frankish Empire, or with high authority behind him, thought he could do better. He created a new Good Friday tract, a Passion reading of Psalm 139 [140], leaving *Qui habitat* to be sung just on Quadragesima Sunday. Psalm 139 [140] had already been used to provide the text for the offertory *Custodi me* on Tuesday of Holy Week.[24] This offertory was certainly part of the core repertory adopted by the Franks from Rome in the eighth century (the text is from the Roman Psalter, and the Old Roman

24 I wish to thank Rebecca Maloy for sharing with me her transcription of and commentary on this offertory before publication.

and Romano-Frankish melodies for the respond are clearly related),[25] so the text already had Passiontide associations by the time *Eripe me* was composed.

The textual and musical history of the offertory verses is more complex, however; see Table 21.

Table 21. Comparison of the text of the tract *Eripe me* and the offertory *Custodi me*

| TRACT AND ROMAN PSALTER | OFFERTORY (ROMANO-FRANKISH) | OFFERTORY (OLD ROMAN) |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Eripe me domine<br>ab homine malo<br>a uiro iniquo<br>libera me | 1. Eripe me domine[a]<br>ab homine malo<br>a uiro iniquo<br>libera me | |
| 4. Custodi me domine<br>de manu peccatoris<br>et ab hominibus iniquis<br>libera me | *Off.* Custodi me domine<br>de manu peccatoris<br>et ab hominibus iniquis<br>eripe me domine[b] | *Off.* Custodi me domine<br>de manu peccatoris<br>et ab hominibus iniquis<br>eripe me domine |
| 5. Qui cogitauerunt subplantare<br>gressus meos<br>absconderunt superbi<br>laqueos/laqueum mihi | 2. Qui cogitauerunt subplantare<br>gressus meos<br>absconderunt superbi<br>laqueum mihi | 2. Qui cogitauerunt subplantare<br>gressus meos<br>absconderunt superbi<br>laqueos mihi |
| 7. Dixi domino<br>deus meus es tu<br>exaudi domine<br>uocem orationis meae | 3.[c] Dixi domino<br>deus meus es tu<br>exaudi domine<br>uocem meam | 1. Dixi domino<br>deus meus es tu<br>exaudi domine<br>uocem meam |
| 8. Domine domine<br>uirtus salutis meae<br>obumbra caput meum<br>in die belli | | 3. Dominus uirtus (etc.)[d] |

[a] Sometimes just 'Eripe me'
[b] Sometimes 'eripe me', as in the Gallican Psalter.
[c] This is given as verse 3 in *Den7* and *Den5* and as the only verse in *Leo3*, but is lacking in *Coc6*.
[d] This centonised text is drawn from Psalm 139 (140): 8[i] and 13: see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, Table 3.1, item 46.

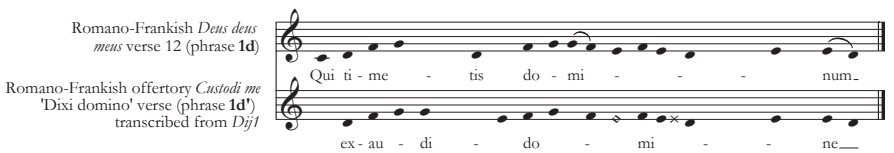
The Old Roman and Romano-Frankish offertories share the texts for two verses, but these are melodically unrelated in the two traditions.[26] The second and third verses appear in several very different versions.[27] There is an Old Roman

25 'Category 2' in Rebecca Maloy's classification: see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, Table 3.1, item 46.
26 Maloy classifies them as 'Category 5': see Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, Table 3.1, item 46.
27 The widely known Romano-Frankish version; the version found in Beneventan sources; and

verse, 'Dominus uirtus', not found in the Romano-Frankish tradition, and also a Romano-Frankish verse, 'Eripe me', which may have been added to the Frankish offertory after the adoption of Roman chant in the Frankish empire. Like the tract, the offertory verse is based on the Roman Psalter. The verse first appears in *Coc6* (860–80) and *Den5* (second half of ninth century; before 867).

One would not particularly expect to find melodic connections between an offertory and a second-mode tract, but there are some in evidence here. In the Romano-Frankish offertory respond, the melisma on 'do-' opens with *CFa* and then *aGab♭GF*. While these are typical second-mode shapes, they appear identically in the second-mode tract phrase **1f**, used in *Eripe me* on 'Ne tradas me' ('Do not deliver me (to the wicked)'). The figure is partially revisited as *ab♭GF* twice in the offertory respond, moving away from the direct connection with phrase **1f** into a more generic second-mode idiom. The Old Roman offertory does not use the cognate phrase **1f** *syllaba*.

The offertory verse 'Qui cogitauerunt' is shared by the two traditions, although their melodic shapes are completely unrelated and there are no melodic connections between the Romano-Frankish melody and that of the tract *Eripe me*. The second shared offertory verse is 'Dixi domino' and, once again, the two traditions have unrelated melodies. The Romano-Frankish offertory verse begins by repeating the shapes found at the beginning of the previous verse, on 'Qui cogitauerunt subplantere', but instead of cadencing on *D* as on 'gressus meos', 'es' uses the cadence *DFDDC* familiar from the second-mode tract phrase **2c**. Again, this is typical second-mode material. It is followed on 'exaudi domine' by a phrase related to the second-mode tract phrase **1d**, associated there, as here, with texts ending 'domin-' (see Example 98).

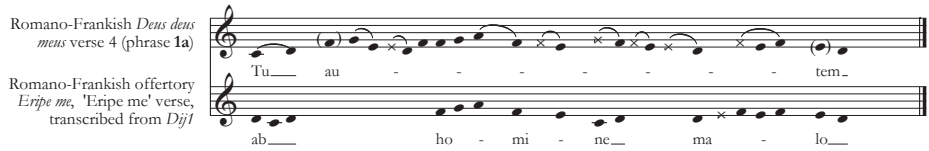



EXAMPLE 98

The same shapes form the basis of the following phrase, on 'uocem', although without the same closely related profile, once again moving away from a direct melodic relationship to more generic second-mode material, as in the use of the phrase **1f** *syllaba* in the respond.

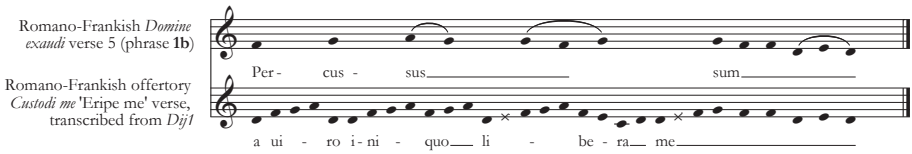
The verse not found in the Old Roman offertory, 'Eripe me', was usually the first verse of the Romano-Frankish offertory. Here, 'ab homine malo' shares the same range and melodic contour as the tract phrase **1a** (see Example 99), although it does not have the same extensive melisma. The cadence and figure *FGaFE*, shared by both, are standard second-mode material.

a rare version found in Turin 18 with a related version in Provins 12. A transcription and comparison, with further literature, is given by Rebecca Maloy on the companion website to *Inside the Offertory*.




EXAMPLE 99

The following phrase, shown in Example 100, builds on the rise *DFGa* seen on 'ab ho-' in Example 99, with the same *FE CD* shape on '-bera' as was used on '-mine'. Once again, the *syllaba* familiar from the second-mode tracts has become the starting point for more generic second-mode material. The phrase ends with the distinctive phrase **1b** tract cadence *GFFDED*.




EXAMPLE 100

These connections between the offertory and the idiom of the second-mode tracts are on the level of gesture rather than of underlying structural skeleton. They would have been readily audible and vocally familiar (and are indeed instantly recognisable on a first hearing or singing to someone familiar with the tract idiom). They are used completely outside their usual formal or phrasal context, and seem to function as distinctive melodic tags. The use of the phrase **1f** *syllaba* in the respond may have been present in the melody adopted by the Franks (although the lack of the shape in the Old Roman tradition speaks against this), or the mid-eighth-century shape may have been sufficiently close to it for the *syllaba* to have been interpolated within the Romano-Frankish tradition. Use in the Romano-Frankish 'Dixi domino' verse of the phrase **2c** cadence and of phrase **1d** material may be Romano-Frankish interpolations (the Old Roman tradition is entirely unrelated at this point). The 'Eripe me' verse appears to be an entirely Frankish undertaking, and could well be interpreted as incorporating fragments of the tract idiom. In all of the above examples, it can be argued that the offertory *Custodi me* is simply using characteristic second-mode material. However, in a Holy Week context, when four second-mode tracts are heard in the space of six days, these characteristic melodic shapes will inevitably have been reminiscent of the second-mode tracts, in which they appear so frequently and so systematically.

Psalm 139 [140] was certainly a site of late-eighth- or early-ninth-century Frankish creativity in relation to Passiontide, and the connections between the offertory and the tract idiom suggest that the two were taking shape at the same time and in the same milieu, perhaps with adjustments to the offertory respond and 'Dixi dominus' verse, or perhaps with the 'Dixi dominus' verse being composed *de novo*, along with the 'Eripe me' verse, with reference to the tract idiom. The lack of Roman authority for such an undertaking cannot have escaped the notice of liturgists at

the time, and the slow acceptance of the tract *Eripe me* in the written sources may be mirrored in the offertory tradition by the slow and piecemeal appearance of the offertory verses in the written tradition.[28]

## The compositional context of *Eripe me*

As described above, *Eripe me* was composed in the early-ninth century, and perhaps as early as the 790s. The musical setting of *Eripe me* largely promotes a Passion reading of the text quite different from the heresy-focused interpretations of the psalm commentaries and illustrations. Such a Passion context had an authoritative precedent in the Roman offertory. The composition of the tract and of the new offertory verse 'Eripe me', as well as the reworking of 'Dixi domino' and perhaps of the respond, may well have arisen in the same context, in which a cantor was inspired to experiment with the Passion reading of Psalm 139 [140].

The earliest witnesses to the tract are Frankish, despite using the Roman Psalter. It is thus tempting to wonder whether *Eripe me* might have been a composition by an émigré Englishman in the Frankish empire. The person of most obvious character and stature to sponsor such an undertaking is the noted liturgist Alcuin, who always used the Roman Psalter in his letters and other writings.[29] He was interested in the theology and liturgy of the Crucifixion, compiling a votive mass *De sancta cruce* which combines 'remembrance of the sacrifice for sin with praise of the "life-giving" cross that guards believers',[30] but I have no direct evidence of him having a particular interest in Psalm 139 [140], or in giving it Passion associations.

A tract and extended offertory for Holy Week based on the heresy-related Psalm 139 [140] and composed in the 790s or early 800s, perhaps sponsored by Alcuin, might be connected to the Adoptionist controversy. Adoptionism was promoted by two Spanish bishops: Elipandus, bishop of Toledo, and Felix, bishop of Urgell. The controversy revolved around the question of whether the human Christ was adopted into the Godhead – the heretical position – or whether God assumed the nature of a human, in the person of Christ – the orthodox position. Alcuin's first encounter with the heresy, as part of Charlemagne's court circle, dates to 791 or 792. He was present at the 794 Synod of Frankfurt, at which Adoptionism was condemned as heresy, and it was Alcuin and Paulinus who wrote refutations of the heresy, engaging in correspondence with Felix and Elipandus.[31]

28 *Mon6* has no offertories, and *Rei5* and *Cor2* lack offertory verses. The earliest witness, *Leo3* (late-eighth or early-ninth century) has only the 'Dixi domino' verse, while *Coc6* (860–80) lacks the 'Dixi domino' verse, as do all early notated manuscripts in Maloy's sample (including *Lan*, *Cha1* and *Gal1*). *Den7* (877–82) and *Den5* (second half of ninth century, before 867) have all three verses: see Maloy's transcription of and commentary on *Custodi me* (offertory 46) in *Inside the Offertory*.

29 Jonathan Black, 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayer Books: Alcuin and the Preface to *De Psalmorum usu*', *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002), 1–60: 35.

30 Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), 140.

31 Alcuin's contributions were *Contra haeresim Felicis* (*c.* 798), *Adversus Felicem* (799–800) and *Adversus Elipandum* (804).

There are implicit references to Psalm 139 [140] in the correspondence. For example, in *Epistola IV*, 139: 'The old serpent is trying to raise his head again in the Spanish backwoods' (written soon after 792). Similarly, in a letter to Elipandus: 'you have absolutely fearlessly hissed through that venomous throat of yours'. And, in a letter of June 800 to Leidrad and others, Alcuin wrote that the good reader can read Alcuin's pamphlets and 'by God's grace, see he is not caught in the snare of Spanish error'.[32]

Using Psalm 139 [140] to provide the text of the Good Friday tract will automatically have focused listeners' minds on heresy on the day when the Crucifixion was commemorated. To think of heresy as well as of the Crucifixion on Good Friday was pertinent to the fight against Adoptionism, because, 'alongside the incarnation, the critical episode in Jesus' earthly existence that renders Adoptionist teachings untenable, as the Carolingians understood them, is the passion; for this is the critical event by which humanity is saved. Salvation could only have been achieved if the crucified Christ was the true, not the adopted, Son of God.'[33] As Alcuin wrote, 'if the one "who suffered and was crucified in the flesh was not the Lord Saviour and God, and son of the father" . . . there is no true salvation'.[34] Alcuin's Mass *De sancta cruce* opens with a prayer whose opening words immediately call to mind the divine nature of Christ and refute the Adoptionist position: 'God, who by the precious blood of your only begotten son willed the standard of the life-giving cross to be sanctified, grant, we beseech you, those who rejoice in the honour of that sacred cross also to rejoice everywhere in your protection'.[35] Central to Alcuin's Crucifixion theology was the belief that Christ assumed the nature of a man even unto death: the union of the divine and human natures within the single person of Christ was manifested in the Crucifixion, and the Crucifixion demonstrates the sinlessness and perfect obedience to God of the human part of Christ.[36]

While there is no direct evidence of Alcuin's sponsorship of the composition of *Eripe me*, the date of the chant's composition does not contradict the possibility, and the use of the Roman Psalter might tend to support it, within the Frankish context (such a hypothesis might point to a date before Alcuin's residency at Tours, from 796, and promotion of the Gallican Psalter). Since the Passion was one of the central events with which Alcuin challenged Adoptionism, the combination of both themes within this setting of Psalm 139 [140] may have been a further Alcuin-sponsored contribution to orthodoxy's defence against the 'Spanish error'.

32 All of these references are taken from Colin Chase (ed.), *Two Alcuin Letter-Books: From the British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A XIV* (Toronto, 1975).

33 Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, 60–1.

34 Alcuin, quoted in Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, 61.

35 'Deus qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso sanguine uiuificae crucis uexillum sanctificari uoluisti, concede quaesumus eos qui eiusdem sanctae crucis gaudent honore, tua quoque ubique protectione gaudere': Jean Deshusses, 'Les messes d'Alcuin', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1972), 7–41: 18.

36 Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, 53–64, 302.

## Conclusions

While the melodic shapes of the genre were well known and reproduced in *Eripe me*, the composer did not create a convincing pastiche, since the compositional principles of the chant are not the same as those of the core repertory. The formulaic phrases are not used in the expected places. The usual associations of particular melodic figures with accented or unaccented syllables are not always followed. Elements of more than one formulaic phrase are combined within a single piece of text. These characteristics suggest that by the 790s or early 800s, the Frankish cantors understood the genre conventions well enough, together with rote learning, to maintain and transmit the repertoire by memory (as evidenced particularly by the treatment of phrase 3 and of each version of phrase 1 in *Eripe me*), but not well enough to be native speakers of the genre who could generate new chants indistinguishable in style from the rest of the genre. This is quite common in an oral tradition: novice performers may be able to reproduce existing songs without being able to generate new ones which are indistinguishable in form and style from the traditional ones (an example of this might be a small child with a large repertoire of nursery rhymes, but without the ability to create new rhymes).[37]

The melodic state of *Eripe me* lends support to the hypothesis that the formulaic structure of the second-mode tracts was in place by the end of the eighth century. Since they did not consistently use it in *Eripe me* it was adopted rather than generated by the Franks, and was therefore almost certainly a Roman construct. The differences between *Eripe me* and the core-repertory second-mode tracts in their use of unique and emphatic phrases (all the emphatic phrases in *Eripe me* are derived from the core repertory rather than any new ones being interpolated, and some of the emphatic phrases may have been prompted in *Eripe me* by textual cues rather than having a rhetorical purpose) suggest that it is unlikely that the core-repertory tracts newly incorporated unique phrases in Francia *c.* 790–820. The unique phrase shapes within the core repertory were therefore probably original to the eighth-century Roman tradition.[38]

Whether or not the name of Alcuin is convincingly associated with *Eripe me* by the circumstantial evidence discussed above, and indeed with the offertory *Custodi me* as it took shape in the Frankish empire, both chants certainly demonstrate a Frankish approach to Passiontide creativity *c.* 790–820. It was understood that melodic cross-references could carry extra-musical meaning, and that certain tract phrases inherently had emphatic qualities, and the compiler of the tract used parallels with *Deus deus meus* to promote a Passiontide message. The compiler may not have fully utilised the formulaic structure of the tracts, but he was undoubtedly conversant with the rhetorical norms of the genre.

37 Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions*, ch. 6, section 3, on transmission across generations asserts that a key characteristic of a native speaker is to be able to produce novel instances within the language.

38 The same observation was made by Schmidt: see Schmidt, 'Die Tractus des zweiten Tones', 302.

# 7

## THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE GENRE IN THE EARLIEST NOTATED WITNESSES: THE EVIDENCE OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS COMPOSED BY *c.* 900

The earliest surviving notated examples of the core-repertory second-mode tracts date from the late-ninth century. It might be argued that the melodies of these chants in the first surviving sources do not accurately reflect their original state, instead being fundamentally affected by the technology of writing. Were this so, one would expect all second-mode tracts in the early sources to share similar traits, characteristic of a written tradition. Four non-core-repertory second-mode tracts appear in one or more of the notated sources dating from before *c.* 920. Their melodic state provides valuable evidence about the ninth-century understanding of the genre. If notating the core-repertory second-mode tracts affected their melodic shape, then *Confitemini*, *Tu es petrus*, *Audi filia*, and *Diffusa est gratia*, composed close to or at the time when notation of the Mass Proper chants was becoming widespread, would be expected to use similar compositional procedures, demonstrating the same concern for textual grammar and rhetorical expression, and using the same musical grammar. My focus here is on the earliest state of these four non-core-repertory tracts, and I have not generally considered their transmission history beyond the tenth century.

The set of chants in Table 22 comprises chants appearing for the first time in ninth- or tenth-century manuscripts.[1] While any of the chants first appearing in *Fle1*, *Lei* or *All1* might be as old as those appearing in the manuscripts dated to *c.* 900, it is impossible to confirm this and I have therefore largely discounted them here, since my focus is on the understanding of the genre at the time of its earliest extant notation, not on the understanding of the genre after it had been regularly notated for half a century or more. While a notated incipit for *Gaude maria* appears in the margin of *Ext2*, thus placing this chant within the earlier substratum as well, the text stops after the second word, 'maria', and there is no notation after the first word, confirming only that the chant is a second-mode tract beginning with phrase

1 This is almost identical to Karp's 'third stratum' of second-mode tracts, although consultation of *Sam2* and *Kor* has made it possible to move *Diffusa est* and *Tu es Petrus* from Karp's general tenth-century substratum to the earlier substratum of chants composed by *c.* 900, and therefore into the set of second-mode tracts to be scrutinised here: see Theodore *AOFGC*, 119–22.

## Table 22. Second-mode tracts appearing for the first time in ninth- or tenth-century manuscripts

| TRACT | TEXT ORIGIN | LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT | FIRST APPEARANCE IN MY SAMPLE | OTHER EARLY APPEARANCES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Second-mode tracts certainly composed by *c.* 900 | | | | |
| *Audi filia* | Psalm 44 (45): 11–13, 10, 15–16 | Purification and Annunciation (*Gal1*), *De virginis* (*Lei*) | *Gal1* (before 920) | *Lei* (*c.* 950) |
| *Confitemini* | Psalm 104 (105): 1–4 | *Dominica vacat* | *Cha1* (9th–10th c.) | *Fle1* (10th c.) *Lan* (early 10th c.) |
| *Diffusa est gratia* | Psalm 44 (45): $3_2$, 5, 8, 11, 12, (13), 14, $15_2$, 16 | Purification (*Fle1*, *Kor*, *Sam2*), Annunciation (*Eli*, *Lei*) | *Sam2* (late-9th c.) | *Kor* (*c.* 900) – only the final verse,[a] *Fle1* (10th c.), *Lei* (*c.* 950), *Eli* (mid-10th-c. text; the notation is later) |
| *Gaude maria* | A prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary | Purification (*Ext2*) | *Ext2* (9th–10th c.) | *Fle1* (10th c.)[b] |
| *Tu es Petrus* | Matthew 16: 18–19 | *Cathedra Sancti Petri* | *Kor* (*c.* 900) | *Fle1* (10th c.) |
| Second-mode tracts certainly composed by *c.* 950 | | | | |
| *Ad te domine* | Psalm 24 (25): 1–3 | *Dominica II in Quadragesima* | *Lei* (*c.* 950) | |
| *Dixit dominus* | Matthew 15: 26–8 | *Dominica II in Quadragesima* | *Lei* (*c.* 950) | *Fle1* (10th c.) |
| Second-mode tracts probably composed during the tenth century | | | | |
| *Domine non secundum* | Psalm 102 (103): 10; Psalm 78: 8–9 | Ash Wednesday | *Fle1* (10th c.) | |
| *Dignare* | verse 1 is from the *Te deum*; verse $2_1$ is Psalm 115 (116): 15; verse $2_2$ is a prayer formula | *Feria V* (before Quadragesima) | *Fle1* (10th c.) | |
| *Posuerunt* | | Holy Innocents | *Fle1* (10th c.) | |
| *Oculi mei* | | | *All1* (10th c.)[c] | |

[a] *CR*, 93 n. 202, notes this manuscript as a witness to *Tu es Petrus* but, in the same footnote, identifies the earliest witness to *Diffusa est gratia* as being *Lei*. The chant is incorrectly identified as being the end of *Audi filia* in Wulf Arlt, 'XI.36 Fragmente eines Graduale mit "paläofränkischen" Neumen', in Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), *799: Kunst und Kultur in der Karolingerzeit* (Paderborn, 1999), 841–2: 842.

[b] See p. 154 n. 2.

[c] *AOFGC*, 120.

**0b.** I have therefore not considered this chant further.[2] Within the earliest notated manuscripts, several non-core-repertory second-mode tracts appear as considerably later additions which are irrelevant to this study.[3]

In the ninth century, Frankish liturgists compiled sets of prayers, readings and chants in order to celebrate feasts for which no provision, or only partial provision, had been made in the Roman papal liturgy adopted by the Franks, such as the Lenten *Dominica vacat* ('the empty Sunday'), on which the pope did not celebrate Mass because of the length of the Vigil and ordinations the previous day.[4] Sanctorale feasts which do not always fall in Lent, such as the Purification, are one locus for Frankish tract composition, as are saints' days frequently occurring near Easter, such as the Annunciation. This lacked a complete liturgy in the Roman tradition adopted by the Franks, because its celebration would often be overwhelmed by those of Holy Week or Easter Week. New liturgies also needed to be composed for local or newly celebrated saints' days, such as that of the Chair of St Peter.

## The provenance of *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus*

The ninth- and tenth-century second-mode tracts did not enjoy universal currency. Rather, the transmission of each chant may be 'national, regional, and even local'.[5] Identifying the origins of these chants is problematic since the widespread use of a chant in a region in later centuries may indicate not that this was its home territory, but instead that a foreign import found fertile soil.

### *Tracts for Lenten Marian feasts*

The feast of the Purification, on February 2, falls on or after Septuagesima, thus requiring a tract, about one year in three.[6] As Table 23 shows, most early manuscripts assign an alleluia to the feast, although some manuscripts, such as *Cha1*, assign no alleluia or tract to the day. In later manuscripts, the eighth-mode tract *Nunc dimittis* was often associated with the feast of the Purification.[7] The possibility of the feast falling in Lent was taken into account in *Den5* and *Rei5*, whose compilers recycled the core-repertory eighth-mode tract *Iubilate domino* for the occasion. Although many manuscripts assign neither an alleluia nor a tract to

2 In Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romain et grégorien', vol. III, Appendices, *Gaude maria* is identified as being in *Fle1*, but I have been unable to locate the chant in the manuscript.

3 *Lan* has *Ave maria*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus* in a separate section at the beginning of the manuscript, with a textual cue for *Tu es petrus* added in the main part of the manuscript, and *Cha1* has *Dixit dominus* in the margin of fol. 16v in a later hand.

4 See John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, Orientalia Christiana analecta 228 (Rome, 1987), 126. The Roman lectionaries have *Ebdomada II die dominico vacat*. The Würzburg *Comes* have no rubric at all: see Morin, 'Le plus ancien *Comes*', 51.

5 *AOFGC*, 120.

6 The earliest possible date for Septuagesima is 18 January; the latest is 22 February.

7 On this chant, see Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, 194–5 and 204–6.

the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March, *Den5* assigns another core-repertory eighth-mode tract to the feast, this time *Qui regis*, joined on this occasion by *Den7*, which suggests a continuing Saint Denis tradition. Three second-mode tracts are assigned to the Purification in the early manuscripts. *Gaude maria* appears only in *Ext2*, as noted above, and the evidence is too meagre for the chant profitably to be considered further here. *Audi filia* is often assigned to the Purification in manuscripts originating not 'west of the Vosges or south of the valleys of northern Italy'[8] including *Gal1* (which assigns the chant to the feast of the Annunciation as well) giving *Audi filia* a compositional *terminus ante quem* of 920. The third second-mode tract associated with Marian feasts is *Diffusa est gratia* based, like *Audi filia*, on Psalm 44 [45]. Although there is some textual overlap (compare the texts of the two chants in Appendix 1), the two chants are incontrovertibly separate compositions. The earliest witnesses to *Diffusa est gratia* are northern Frankish, where it is assigned to the Purification (*Kor*, *Fle1* and *Sam2*) or to the Annunciation (*Eli*). These early appearances suggest an origin in Picardy, before 875.[9]

TABLE 23. Alleluias and tracts assigned to the feasts of the Purification and Annunciation

| FEAST | CHANT(S) ASSIGNED | MANUSCRIPTS IN MY SAMPLE |
|---|---|---|
| Purification | alleluia *Adorabo* | *Aki5*, *Coc6*, *Cor2*, *Den6*, *Den7*, *Leo3*, *Noy3* |
| | alleluia *Adducentur* | *Lan*, *Mon6* |
| | alleluia *Adorabo*, also tract *Iubilate domino* 'si in lxx^mo evenerit.'[a] | *Den5*, *Rei5* |
| | alleluia *Ave Maria* and tract *Gaude maria* | *Ext2* |
| | no alleluia or tract | *Cha1* |
| | tract *Diffusa est gratia* | *Kor*, *Fle1* |
| | alleluia *Adorabo* and tract *Audi filia* | *Gal1* |
| | alleluia *Adorabo*, alleluia *Adducentur*, and a rubric 'si post LXX^ma venerit'[b] assigning the tract, *Diffusa est gratia*. | *Sam2* |
| Annunciation | no alleluia or tract | *Aki5*, *Cha1*, *Coc6*, *Cor2*, *Den6*, *Fle1*, *Lan*, *Leo3*, *Mon6*, *Noy3*, *Rei5*, *Sam2* |
| | tract *Audi filia* | *Gal1* |
| | tract *Qui regis* | *Den5*, *Den7* |
| | tract *Diffusa est gratia* | *Eli*, *Lei* |

[a] *Den5*, f. 4v.
[b] See H. Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France* (Paris, 1910), 294.

8 *AOFGC*, 120.

9 Cullin similarly considers the origin of the chant to be northern French: see Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens', vol. III, Appendices. Karp hypothesises that *Diffusa est gratia* is 'likely to be of Aquitanian origin' since it is present in almost all the Aquitanian sources he considered: see *AOFGC*, 120. It certainly had a strong appeal in Aquitaine in later centuries, but its omission from *Aki5* speaks against an Aquitanian origin.

### *Dominica vacat*

For the Sunday after Quadragesima, some manuscripts simply have the rubric 'Dominica vacat', faithfully copying the Papal liturgy, but not defining what should happen locally on this day.[10] Despite this, Frankish provision of a liturgy for the *Dominica vacat* began early: the Romano-Frankish Sacramentary (after 750) has *Ebdomada II die dominico. Scd Marc. Cap. XVIII (1: 40 – 2: 12)*;[11] and *Rei5*, which originated in Nivelles (Liège diocese) in the 790s, has a rubric instructing that the elaborate Ember Saturday Mass from the previous day should be used.[12] This provision did not become widely adopted, but both it and the presence of the feast in the Sacramentary indicate that isolated attempts to provide a liturgy for the day had begun before the beginning of the ninth century, despite the silence of most manuscript witnesses through the ninth century and even into the tenth.

The tract *Confitemini* was used on *Dominica vacat* from at least the early-tenth century, being found in *Lan*; other early appearances are in *Cha1* and *Fle1*, suggesting an origin in Brittany or in the Laon region. It does not appear in German sources at all,[13] and the Saint Denis and Cluny traditions instead used the tract *Dixit/Dicit Dominus mulieri* on *Dominica vacat*. By the eleventh century, appearances of *Confitemini* are widespread, including manuscripts from Aquitaine[14] and Italy, although Italian sources very often have *Oculi mei* instead of *Confitemini*.[15]

To provide a liturgy for *Dominica vacat*, the compilers of the Mass found in *Lan* borrowed Proper chants from the previous Wednesday, except for *Confitemini*, of course.[16] This solution to the provision of a new liturgy, with or without *Confitemini*, was later adopted in many manuscripts.[17] The Breton manuscripts have a different Mass formulary, none of whose components were part of the Roman liturgy adopted by the Franks.[18] This same Mass formulary, including the tract, is found in *Ext2* in a later hand; it is also found in a late-tenth-century manuscript

10 These manuscripts include *Aki5*, *Coc6*, *Cor2*, *Cor3*, *Den5*, *Den7*, *Eli*, *Leo3*, *Mon6*, *Noy3* and *Sam2*, and Pfisterer adds *Bab1* to the list: see *CR*, 89. *Gal1* has no rubric, even, and in *Ext2*, the Mass Propers for the day are a much later addition.

11 Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, 147.

12 'Item ad missam sicut jam supra scriptum est in sabbato.'

13 As demonstrated in the appendices in Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens.'

14 *Confitemini* is just one of four second-mode tracts attached to 'Dominica vacat' in Aquitanian manuscripts, any or all of which can appear in a given manuscript. *Alb* (eleventh century) has *Ad te domine*, *Dixit dominus mulieri*, *Confitemini* and *Laetatus sum*. *Yrx* (eleventh century) has *Dixit dominus mulieri* and *Confitemini*. *Tou* and *Aki3* have *Ad te domine*. *Nar* has *Laetatus sum* and *Dixit dominus mulieri*. *Aki2* has *Ad te domine* and *Dixit dominus mulieri*. *Aki4* only has a gradual. Pfisterer argues that *Laetatus* was the original *Dominica vacat* tract in Aquitaine (see *CR*, 89).

15 *AOFGC*, 120. *Confitemini* appears in only four of the 17 Italian manuscripts catalogued in the Appendices in Cullin, 'Le trait dans les repertoires vieux-romains et grégoriens': *Ivr1*, *Lav*, *Bre*, and *Luc1*. Pfisterer adds *Itn1* to the list (see *CR*, 89).

16 None of these are found in the *AMS* sources: introit *Reminiscere*; gradual *De necessitatibus*, offertory *Meditabor* and communion *Intellige*.

17 These include *Noy1*, *Lav*, and *Clu1*, without *Confitemini*.

18 Introit: *(A)Sperent in te*; gradual *Iustus es domine*; offertory *Domine deus meus*; communion *Custodi me domine*.

copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, with an English text hand and Breton notation.[19] The conduit between the continent and England therefore seems likely to be Brittany, in this case. It is possible that *Confitemini* was composed together with an entire set of Mass Propers, perhaps in Brittany, and the compilers of *Lan* selected (or encountered) just one of the new chants to complement the pre-existing Mass formulary borrowed from the previous Wednesday. Alternatively, *Confitemini* was composed either in the Laon region or in Brittany to complement the pre-existing Wednesday Mass Propers, and the independent Mass formularies were added in Brittany, at a later stage.

There is a concrete indication that *Confitemini* did not appear in the main exemplar of *Lan*, providing evidence that the chant was either composed or adopted in the Laon region shortly before *Lan* was copied. *Lan* reproduced the indexing system of its exemplar: there is a number next to each Mass, and when a chant is used for a second time in the manuscript, there is usually an incipit with a number referring back to the Mass where the chant may be found. *Dominica vacat* in *Lan* has no number, suggesting that it was not in the exemplar, and that it was therefore a recent addition to the liturgy. This suggestion is supported by the late-ninth-century Cantatorium fragment *Laon266*, which 'closely resembles Laon MS 239 [in script and notation] and the two doubtless originated in the same area, if not in the same scriptorium'.[20] In this fragment, the end of the Ember Saturday, the day before *Dominica vacat*, is followed immediately by chants for the third Sunday in Lent. The Laon adoption of a Mass for *Dominica vacat*, including the tract *Confitemini*, can therefore be dated after the copying of *Laon266* in the late-ninth century and before the copying of *Lan* in the early-tenth century.

### *St Peter's Chair*

*Tu es petrus* is associated with the feast of Cathedra Sancti Petri (St Peter's Chair) on 22 February. The *cathedra* is not only the chair or throne on which the bishop sits (giving the building, the cathedral, its name), but also the institution of the bishopric. St Peter established two bishoprics (first at Antioch, and then at Rome) and was therefore associated with two *cathedrae*. There are two feasts of St Peter's Chair, both of which were at first celebrated in and connected to Rome. The feast on 18 January still commemorates St Peter's establishment of the See of Rome. The feast of St Peter's Chair on 22 February dates back at least to the fourth century, when it was mentioned in the Calendar of Philocalus: 'eighth day before the Calends of March, the feast of Peter's Chair'.[21] This calendar makes no mention of

19 This manuscript, in the private collection of Mr R. A. Linenthal, is described in Drew (K. D.) Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), 340–1.

20 Jeffery, 'An Early Cantatorium Fragment', 251.

21 'VIII Kl. Martias: natale Petri de cathedra': see Erich Dinkler, 'Die ersten Petrusdarstellungen. Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Petrusprimates', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1938), 1–80: 69.

the January feast.[22] There are no further references to the feast for many centuries: no Mass liturgy is specifically associated with the February feast in the earliest extant liturgical manuscripts, either in the oldest sacramentaries (Old Gelasian, Padua and Hadrianum sacramentaries),[23] or in the oldest witnesses to the chant repertoire in the late-eighth and ninth centuries. 22 February was presumably the second feast of Cathedra Sancti Petri in Rome during this period, but either there was no set liturgy associated with it, or it used the liturgy associated with the 18 January feast.

One exception to the long silence is Bede's Calendar, which confirms that, by the eighth century, the February feast was no longer connected to Peter's establishment of the see of Rome, but instead to his foundation of the see of Antioch.[24] This is confirmed in the ninth century by the 'Berne manuscript', the oldest witness to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: 'eighth day before the Calends of March, the chair of St Peter which has remained at Antioch'.[25] The date of this shift is unknown, but the February feast became generally associated with Antioch rather than Rome.

The prayers for the February feast of Cathedra Sancti Petri were added to fol. 29 of *Den6*, an early-ninth-century sacramentary with marginal chant cues, in 'a rudimentary hand apparently of the late-ninth or early-tenth century'.[26] This suggests that some ingredients of the liturgy for the Mass for *Cathedra Sancti Petri* on 22 February became known in northern Francia – or, more likely, were composed there – in the late-ninth century. There is no indication of Mass Proper chants in the marginal addition to *Den6*, although this sacramentary generally has marginal Mass Proper cues. At this point the Saint Denis monks perhaps had prayers but not fixed Mass Proper chants for the feast of Cathedra Sancti Petri. The earliest appearance of Mass Proper chants for the feast is in *Kor*, a fragmentary manuscript from the monastery of Korvey, dated *c.* 900. There is a Mass Proper for the feast in *Fle1*, and the liturgy subsequently became widespread in manuscripts dating from the later-tenth century onwards.[27]

Despite the undoubted antiquity of the feast of Cathedra Sancti Petri, the manuscript evidence suggests that it only acquired a specific liturgy in the late-ninth century, perhaps in parallel with its acquisition of a new geographical context, being newly connected to Antioch. The second-mode tract *Tu es Petrus* was therefore

22 Anton de Waal, 'Chair of Peter', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III (New York, 1908), available online at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>.

23 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 160.

24 'VIII kal. (martii] Apud Antiochiam Cathedra Sancti Petri': see PL 94, available at <http://pld.chadwyck.com>.

25 'VIII kal. mar. cathedræ sci petri apostoli *qua sedit apud antiochiam*': see de Waal, 'Chair of Peter'.

26 'Manu rudi et inperitu (ut videtur, saec. ix ex. vel saec. x. in.)': see Henry Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, Henry Bradshaw Society 49 (London, 1915), 319.

27 The wide distribution of *Tu es Petrus* from the later-tenth century onwards, appearing frequently in Aquitanian and Italian sources and being 'adequately represented' in French and German manuscripts led Karp to hypothesise that it might be rather older than the earliest sources he had encountered: see *AOFGC*, 120. The inclusion of *Kor* in my data makes it possible to confirm that this is the case.

copied into *Kor* within a generation of its composition in north-eastern Francia – possibly at Korvey, or at Korvey's mother house, Corbie, although such speculation is necessarily tentative.

All four chants under scrutiny here were newly composed to fill gaps, or perceived gaps, in the liturgy adopted from Rome. *Confitemini* and *Tu es Petrus* were composed during the late-ninth century, *Audi filia* by 920, and *Diffusa est gratia* by *c.* 875.

## The Textual tradition

*Audi filia*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus* are immediately differentiated from the core repertory by being assigned to the sanctorale rather than the temporale. Neither these chants nor *Confitemini* reflect the sombre, lamenting mood of the core-repertory second-mode tracts, instead having celebratory texts.

The text of *Tu es Petrus* is taken from Matthew 16: 18–19. This is a prose text, in contrast to the poetry of the psalms and canticles. The whole text of *Tu es Petrus* comprises a single compound sentence. To associate this text with St Peter is self-evidently appropriate, and the text of the first verse of the tract had previously been used for a communion verse in honour of St Peter in the Roman tradition adopted by the Franks.[28] The Vulgate text (as represented by the Stuttgart Bible) is identical to the tract except that the tract twice has 'et in celis' where the Vulgate usually has 'in celis'. The tract version is found in the Sangermanensis Bible from ninth-century Paris,[29] so it was certainly known in northern Francia at the time of the tract's composition.

*Audi filia* is also differentiated from the core repertory in its use of its biblical text. Unlike the core repertory, where sections of psalms or canticles tend to be used in their entirety, the text of *Audi filia* is a centonisation of Psalm 44 [45], using half of four psalm verses and verse 16 in its entirety ($11_1$, $12_1$, $13_2$, $10_1$, $15_2$, 16). The placing of verse 10 after verse 13 perhaps hints at a responsorial performance of some kind, and the numbering of the verses in *Lei* (V.I, V.II, V.III after the opening verse) supports this suggestion, although the chant is clearly named as a tract. The first verse of *Audi filia* is derived from the Roman Psalter tradition rather than the Gallican Psalter tradition.[30] This Roman Psalter text was in fact widely used for the gradual respond on the feast of St Cecilia, appearing in, for example, *Mon6*, *Cor2*, *Den7* and *Leo3*. The third verse of *Audi filia* ends 'offerentur tibi' although the psalters generally have 'adferentur tibi'.[31] The psalters are differentiated from

28 Found, for example, in *Den7*, *Coc6*, *Leo3*, and *Cor2*. McKinnon viewed this as one of the sanctorale chants most clearly representative of the style of the 'Advent Master' (*The Advent Project*, 353–4).

29 Paris, BNF, MS lat. 11553.

30 The Roman Psalter has 'Audi filia et uide, et inclina aurem tuam: quoniam concupiuit rex speciem tuam'; the Gallican version is 'Audi filia et uide, et inclina aurem tuam: et concupiscet rex decorem tuum'.

31 'offerentur' is found in two Roman Psalters from Benevento (manuscripts Q and R) in Weber's critical apparatus: see Robert, *Le psautier romain*, xv.

each other in the final verse of the chant, where the Roman Psalter tradition begins 'In laetitia' instead of 'Adducentur in letitia', found in the Gallican tradition and in the tract. This suggests that the first verse of the tract may have been derived from the pre-existing (and Roman in origin) gradual respond, but that the rest of the text was drawn from the Gallican Psalter which was in regular liturgical use in the Germanic lands.

The choice of verses for *Diffusa est gratia* is not unified in different manuscripts (see Table 24).

Table 24. The textual tradition of *Diffusa est gratia*

| CHANT TEXT | MANUSCRIPTS | PSALM ORIGIN |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te deus in aeternum | *Sam2*, *Eli*, *Fle1*, *Lei* | 44: $3_2$ |
| 2. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna | *Sam2*, *Eli*, *Fle1*, *Lei* | 44: $5_1$ |
| 3. Propter ueritatem et mansuetudinem et iusticiam et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua | *Sam2*, *Eli*, *Fle1*, *Lei* | 44: $5_2$ |
| 4. Dilexisti iustiam et odisti iniquitatem propterea unxit te deus deus tuus oleo letitie | *Sam2*, *Eli* | 44: 8 |
| 5/4. Audi filia et uide et inclina aurem tuam | *Sam2*, *Eli*, *Fle1*, *Lei* | 44: $11_1$ |
| et obliuiscere populum tuum et domum patris tui | *Sam2*, *Eli* | 44: $11_2$ |
| quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam | *Fle1*, *Lei* | |
| 6. Et concupiscet rex decorum tuum quoniam ipse est dominus deus tuus et adorabunt eum | *Sam2*, *Eli* | 44: 12 |
| 7. Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes diuites plebes filie regum in honore tuo | *Eli* | 44: 13–14 |
| 7/8. Adducentur regi uirgines post eam proxime eius afferentur tibi | *Sam2*, *Eli* | 44: $15_2$ |
| 8. Adducentur in laetitia et exultatione adducentur in templum regi domino | *Sam2* | 44: 16 |
| 9. Offerentur in laetitia adducentur in templum regi domino | *Eli* | 44: 16 |
| ? [ . . . l]etitia et exultatione adducen[tur in templu]m regis | *Kor* (after a lacuna) | 44: 16 |

The chant has eight verses in *Sam2* (and the same text is used in the later addition at the beginning of *Lan*),[32] but *Fle1* and *Lei* have only four verses, and *Eli* includes a verse used in *Audi filia* but not generally found in this chant, making nine verses in total. Some later manuscripts such as *Den1* have all nine verses plus a further one, 'Adstitit regina', after 'Dilexisti'. The earliest extant witness to the long version is *Kor*, which preserves only part of the final verse in an identical textual and musical form to the eleventh-century *Den1*. This verse is clearly differentiated both textually (see Table 24) and musically from the version in *Eli*, which cannot therefore be used to hypothesise about the musical or textual state of the nine-verse chant *c.* 900.

32 *AOFGC*, 121.

As with *Audi filia*, the text of *Diffusa est gratia* is a centonisation rather than including a block of complete verses. It is not straightforwardly drawn from any psalter tradition, although it is closer to the Gallican Psalter than to the Roman Psalter.[33] The following discussion is based on the verse numbering of *Sam2*. The second verse of the tract has 'intende' where the Gallican Psalter usually has 'et intende'. While this might indicate the influence of the Roman Psalter, it is more likely that an alteration took place in response to the text centonisation. Within the psalm text 'gird your sword on your thigh, mightiest one, with your fine appearance and with your beauty, and triumphantly stretch out, advance and reign',[34] 'specie tua et pulchritudine tua' refers backwards. In the tract text this context is lost, since the text 'accingere . . . potentissimae' is omitted. The removal of 'et' connects the phrase forwards ('with your fine appearance and with your beauty, triumphantly stretch out, advance and reign').

The final verse of *Diffusa est gratia* begins 'Adducentur in letitia', where 'Adducentur' is not part of the Roman Psalter text, and the Gallican Psalter instead has the simile 'Adferentur in letitia'. The offertory for St Lucy in *Den7* is *Offerentur regi uirgines*, and it includes a verse 'Adducentur in letitia', confirming that this text was known in north-eastern Francia. *Eli* has 'Offerentur in letitia'. The final words of *Sam2* and *Eli*, 'in templum regi domino', have no precedent in the psalter tradition, which ends 'in templum regis', a text shared by *Kor*, later manuscripts such as *Den1*, and the tract *Audi filia*, but the variant is found in some manuscripts in the offertory *Offerentur (maior)* and was certainly known in northern Francia.[35]

As we have seen, all four chants are largely derived from biblical translations known in northern Francia. *Confitemini* is based on the Gallican Psalter[36] and *Tu est Petrus* uses a version of the Vulgate known in early-medieval Paris. *Audi filia* and *Diffusa est gratia* are close to the Gallican Psalter, but perhaps also show the influence of earlier psalmic core-repertory chant texts, and *Diffusa est gratia* also includes an alteration apparently resulting from the centonisation of the psalm text. It is possible to posit several different lines of influence on a single chant text, including psalters and existing chants within the core repertory, but also responding to the need for a centonised text to make grammatical and semantic sense.

33 The Roman Psalter has 'Speciem tuam et pulchritudinem tuam' instead of 'Specie tua et pulchritudine tua', and 'Quoniam concupiuit rex speciem tuam' instead of 'Et concupiscet rex decorem tuum'. In verse 6, use of 'deus' in the phrase 'quoniam ipse est dominus deus tuus' is a variant known within the Gallican Psalter tradition (which more usually has 'quoniam ipse est dominus tuus') as well as in the Roman Psalter. According to the critical apparatus in the Stuttgart Bible, the tract tradition for this verse is found in H [*Cathach S. Columbae*, Dublin, R. I. Academy sine num., AD 600–50, Hibernia], I [Rouen, Bibl. mun. 24, tenth century], and K [*Psalt. Augiense triplex*, Karlsruhe, Landesbibl., Aug XXXVIII, 800–50, Augia].

34 'accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissimae specie tua et pulchritudine tua, et intende prospere procede et regna'.

35 For example, in *Cha1* on p. 11 of the PM 11 facsimile.

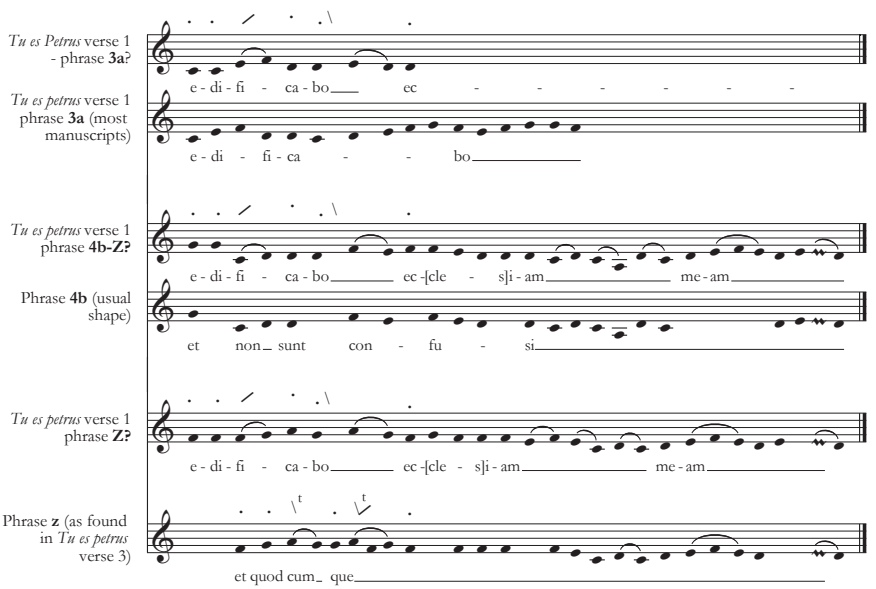
36 The Roman Psalter usually has 'iusticias' not 'iustitiam' and 'tui et visita' not 'tui visita'.

## The melodic state of the second-mode tracts composed by *c.* 900

### *Establishing the musical text*

*Cha1*, *Fle1*, *Gal1*, *Lan* and *Lei* use gestural notation, consisting of Breton, Saint Gall, Messine or French neumes. These notational families have been thoroughly studied, and interpretation of the melodic outline is uncontroversial (although interpretation of rhythm and of the meaning of the ornamental signs remains contested).[37] *Kor*, by contrast, uses palaeo-Frankish notation. Since the notation is less widely familiar than gestural notations, and since the damage to the manuscript means that transcription is more challenging, I have made full transcriptions of *Tu es Petrus* and *Diffusa est gratia* as they appear in this manuscript; the pitches are of course hypothetical.[38]

For *Tu es Petrus*, trimming of the right-hand side of the leaf and damage to the top left have resulted in several lacunae, including most of the opening phrase, and these are indicated by square brackets in the transcription in Appendix 6; the notes within the brackets are supplied from the usual formulaic shapes. The significative letter 't' (meaning 'tenere', to hold or lengthen) appears in the manuscript and is reproduced in the transcription. Both the rising quilisma and falling or unison oriscus are transcribed here as mordents. Pitches included within the same penstroke in *Kor* are joined under a slur in the transcription. Interpreting the neumes attached to 'edificabo ec([cles]iam)' is difficult. At this point, all later manuscripts have phrase 3




EXAMPLE 101

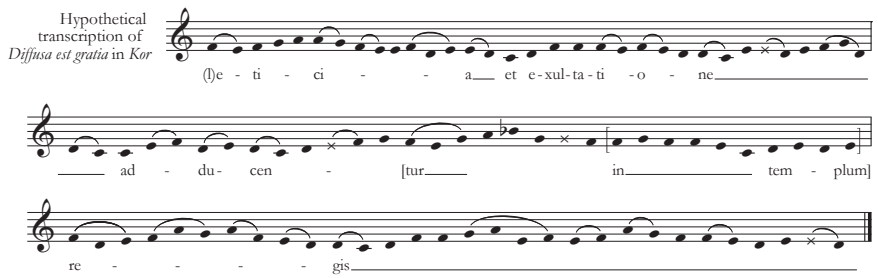
37 The relevant pages of *Fle1* and *Lei* are reproduced in Appendix 3.
38 The relevant pages of *Kor* are reproduced in Appendix 3.

(see Example 101) but the underlay in *Kor* is wrong for phrase **3**.[39] Further, the final accent usually receives the rising shape from *DCD* up to G, but here '*-ca-*' has a single note and there is no sign of the cadential melisma. It is certain, then, that *Kor* does not share the melody found in the later manuscripts at this point.

It is possible that 'edificabo' begins phrase **4b** but, again, the underlay is wrong for the formulaic phrase (see Example 101).[40] There are more syllables than usual for phrase **4b**, and the melodic shapes usually associated with the final two syllables ('*-fusi*' in Example 101) are here divided between six syllables, with some added pitches to accommodate the extras. The beginning of the first pes, supposedly a fifth lower than the previous punctum, appears at the same vertical position on the page, and the punctum on '*-ca-*' is written considerably higher on the page than the punctum beginning '*-bo*' which follows, although in phrase **4b** both would have the pitch *D*. While the neuming in *Kor* is by no means precisely heighted, this does render unlikely an interpretation of these shapes as the opening of phrase **4b**. The end of the phrase is certainly not compatible with phrase **4b**, having an extra *DEFE* characteristic of the phrase **Z** cadence but never found in phrase **4b**, so that interpretation of most of this phrase as being **4b** demands understanding it as a hybrid phrase **4b–Z**, as well as appearing outside the usual formal context for phrase **4b**.

The third possibility is that the neumes on 'edificabo' indicate the beginning of phrase **Z**. As shown in Example 101, 'edificabo' uses very different neumes from phrase **Z** on 'et quod cumque' in the same chant. As with the putative interpretation of this material as phrase **4b**, considering it to be phrase **Z** means accepting that there are more syllables than usual for the phrase, which interferes with the melisma placement. However, the heighting of the neumes is compatible with the shape of phrase **Z** and, because the phrase is not a hybrid but a complete formulaic phrase, as is usual in the second-mode tracts, it seems the most likely solution.

Transcribing the final verse of *Diffusa est gratia*, the first item in the fragmentary *Kor*, is less problematic. Despite lacunae, the melodic outline is not in doubt (see Example 102). The melodic shape is the same as that found in the final verse of *Diffusa est gratia* in *Den1*.[41]




EXAMPLE 102

39 According to the usual constraints of the formulaic genre: in phrase **3a**, the first accent usually receives the pitches *EF* ('edí-'), whereas here, the pes appears on '-fi-'.

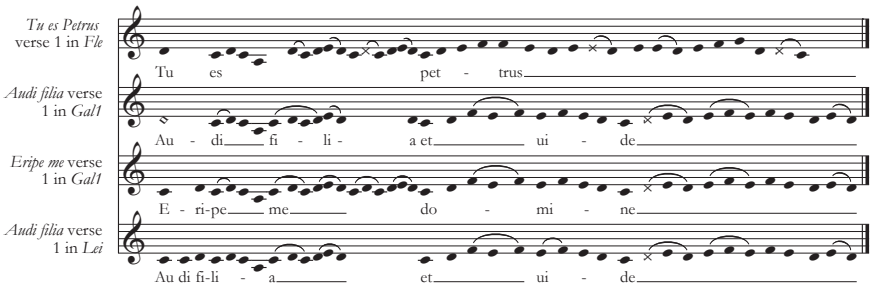
40 The pitches *CD* are usually associated with the accent but would here be attached to '(edi)fi(cabo)'.

41 The text and melody are different in *Eli*, which has phrase **1d** on 'Offerentur in letitia', phrase **3c** on 'adducentur in templum', and phrase **4f** on 'regi domino'.

### *The phrases used in the late-ninth-century second-mode tracts*

Unlike the core-repertory chants, where large-scale variants between sources are rare and isolated, there are many such variants in the chants under discussion here. While the early witnesses *Gal1* and *Lei* share a version of *Audi filia*, *Confitemini* appears in one version in *Lan* and another in the two Breton manuscripts, *Fle1* and *Cha1*, which are themselves not melodically identical.[42] *Tu es Petrus* appears in two very different versions in *Kor* and *Fle1*, neither of which is directly reflected in the later manuscript tradition. *Diffusa est gratia* appears in two different four-verse states in *Lei* and *Fle1*.[43] Tables showing the formulaic phrases used in these chants, together with their texts and translations, may be found in Appendix 1.

The opening phrase of *Deus deus meus* is almost ubiquitous in Frankish second-mode tracts, except those beginning 'Domin-', which are cued to use the opening of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*,[44] and, indeed, *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia*, *Gaude maria* and *Tu es Petrus* all begin with phrase **0b**. This does not mean that a stereotyped shape is used in an entirely stereotyped way, however. The opening of *Audi filia* omits the usual repetition of *CDC DED* within the first melisma, and the underlay in *Gal1* and *Lei* is very different for the first two words, showing that this chant opening was not fixed in an authoritative version (see Example 103). In *Tu es Petrus*, *Fle1* moves away from the phrase **0b** opening onto a phrase **2** cadence, perhaps stimulated by the text cue of 'petram' in the following phrase, but this is isolated, and all other manuscripts I have examined have phrase **0b**.




EXAMPLE 103

Phrase **1c** is used to open the second verse of *Tu es Petrus* (both versions), *Confitemini* (both versions), and *Diffusa est gratia* in *Lei* (but not *Fle1*):[45] the association with the second verse of the chant was firmly in place in these chants as in *Eripe me*, *Deus deus meus*, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi*. Phrase **Z** became associated with verse 3 of

42 On these versions, and others in later manuscripts, see *CR*, 93–4 and 261–4.

43 Although *Diffusa est gratia* appears as an eight-, nine-, and ten-verse chant in *Sam2*, *Eli* and *Den1* respectively, none of these enable one to access the melodic state of the chant in the late-ninth century; most of the final verse of one of the long versions, probably related to that found in *Den1*, is partially preserved in *Kor*.

44 *AOFGC*, 103 and 439, endnote 12.

45 *Fle1* uses phrase **1a** in verse 2 of *Diffusa est gratia*, for which the accent pattern is appropriate.

the new chants, being used in *Confitemini* (both versions), *Tu es Petrus* in *Kor*,[46] and *Diffusa est gratia* (both versions). The fourth (and final) verse begins with phrase **1f** in *Tu es Petrus* (both versions), *Diffusa est gratia* (both *Lei* and *Fle1*), and *Confitemini* (both versions). While phrases **Z** and **1f** were used emphatically in the core repertory, they appear to have become a stereotyped response in these three chants.

*Audi filia* verse 3 begins with phrase **1e**, followed by *comma* *, just as in verse 3 of *Deus deus meus* and *Eripe me*. It seems likely that, as in *Eripe me*, the rhetorical cue has been lost, and that instead of phrase **1e** and *comma* * emphasising 'Adducentur regi', they are simply being treated as the standard phrases for verse 3 of a second-mode tract. Further support for this hypothesis lies in the fact that in the core-repertory chants, *comma* * is always connected syntactically to what follows, but in *Audi filia*, 'regi' belongs syntactically with the preceding verb. This also occurs on two occasions in *Eripe me*. As Table 25 illustrates, in the late-ninth century tracts, the text using *comma* * more often connects syntactically with what precedes than with what follows. In this table, / indicates the end of phrase **1**, and * indicates the end of *comma* *.

TABLE 25. Syntactical forms associated with *comma* *

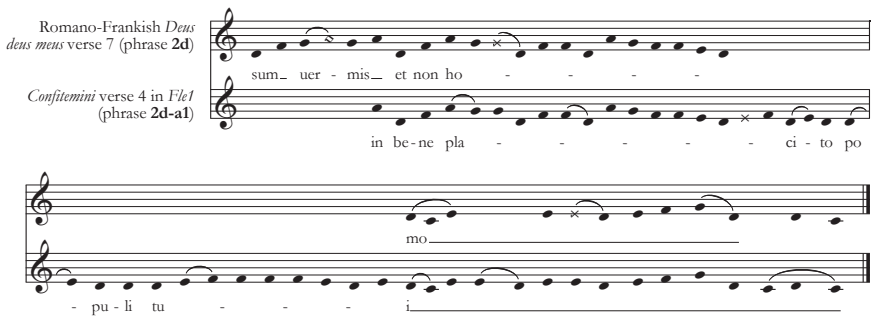
| TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | CHANT |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Text using comma * connects syntactically with what follows* | | | |
| [3] Beati/ qui custodiunt* iudicium | Happy are those/ who keep* the judgement | main clause/ relative clause | *Confitemini* (both versions) |
| [3] Propter/ veritatem* et mansuetudinem et iusticiam | because of/ truth* and gentleness and justice | preposition/ nouns | *Diffusa est gratia* (*Fle1* and *Lei*) |
| [?] [Afferentur]/ in letitia* et exultatione | They will be led/ in joy* and exultation | verb/ prepositional phrase | *Diffusa est gratia* (*Kor*) |
| *Text using comma * connects syntactically with what precedes* | | | |
| [3] Adducentur/ regi* uirgines post eam | [Maidens] will be led/ to the King,* maidens after her | verb/ locative,* subject, prepositional phrase | *Audi filia* |
| [4] Memento/ nostri domine* in beneplacito populi tui | Remember/ our God* in the favour of your people | imperative verb/ vocative* prepositional phrase | *Confitemini* (both versions) |
| [3] Et quodcumque/ ligaueris* super terram | and whatsoever/ you bind* on earth | conjunction, object/ verb* prepositional phrase | *Tu es Petrus* (*Kor*) |
| [4] Et quodcumque/ solueris* super terram | and whatsoever/ you set free* on earth | conjunction, object/ verb* prepositional phrase | *Tu es Petrus* (*Fle1*) |
| 4. Audi filia/ et vide* et inclina aurem tuam | Listen daughter/ and see* and incline your ear | vocative/ vocative* main clause | *Diffusa est gratia* (*Fle1* and *Lei*) |

Use of phrase **1e** in verse 3 differentiates the German *Audi filia* from the three other second-mode tracts composed by *c.* 900, as does use in the final verse of phrase **1d**. This phrase is cued by 'domin-' in the core repertory, but it is also used, without the 'domin-' cue, in the final verse of *Eripe me*, which may have acted as a model for *Audi filia*. The differentiation between *Audi filia* and the other three chants is further confirmed by the use in *Audi filia* of phrase **2a1** in verses 2, 3 and

46 *Fle1* uses phrase **1a**, for which the accent pattern is appropriate.

4, although the accent pattern is not appropriate in verse 3. It is the standard mid-verse phrase in this chant,[47] although not in *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia*, or *Tu es Petrus*. A similar formal prompt appears to be in play in the choice of phrase **4c** in *Diffusa est gratia* verse 2 in *Lei*, paralleling verse 2 of *Eripe me* and *Deus deus meus*. The phrase is also used in *Confitemini* verse 3 in *Fle1* and *Cha1*. This is the penultimate verse, and **4c** is also used in the penultimate verse of *Deus deus meus*. Phrase **4c** is instead used in *Confitemini* verse 1 in *Lan*. The text comprises a noun followed by a possessive pronoun, with the accent pattern /– –/–, the textual context in which it is used in the core repertory.

Phrase **2d** is an emphatic phrase associated with *Deus deus meus* and *Eripe me*. It is used in *Diffusa est gratia* verse 4 (in *Lei*), *Tu es Petrus* verse 3 (in *Kor*), and *Confitemini* verse 3 (both versions). Verses 2, 3 and 4 of *Tu es Petrus* all use phrase **2d** in *Fle1*. This extensive use of phrase **2d** is reflected in later manuscripts which transmit *Tu es Petrus*.[48] Phrase **2d** also affected the final verse of *Confitemini*. While *Lan* uses phrase **2a1**, *Fle1* and *Cha1* have the first melisma of phrase **2d** before a *DE* recitation and the phrase **2a1** close (see Example 104). Phrase **2d** had become a standard phrase in these chants rather than a rhetorically motivated response to the text.

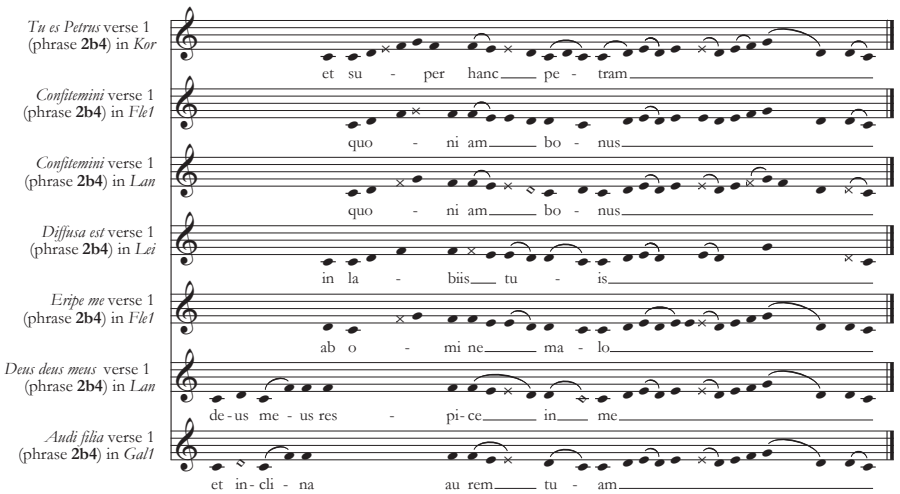



EXAMPLE 104

Phrase **2b4** is used in the first verse of *Deus deus meus*, and although its characteristic opening C *D CF* is omitted from the later chants (apart from *Audi filia*), the stepwise fall and the cadence are clearly seen in the first verse of *Tu es Petrus* in *Kor*, *Diffusa est gratia* in *Lei* (with an abbreviated cadence), and *Confitemini* (both versions) (see Example 105). The melodic outline opening this phrase in the new chants has no direct precedent in the core repertory, but it was also used in *Eripe me* verse 1. Its opening is echoed in *Tu es Petrus* verse 1 in *Fle1*, on 'petrus' (following the text cue of the following phrase 'et super hanc petram'); compare Example 103.

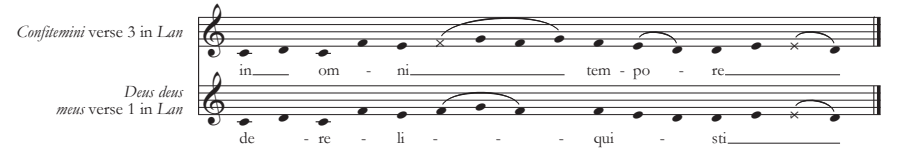
47 As noted by Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 85.

48 *Iri*, *Mal3*, *Mal4*, *Mor4* and *Yrx* have phrase **2d** in each of the last three verses; *Bre*, *Mog4*, *Pas2* and *Stm* use phrase **2a** in verse 2 before phrase **2d** for the last two verses, perhaps following the text cue '. . . super terram'; *Alb* uses phrase **2d** in verses 2 and 4, and phrase **2a** in verse 3; *Dij1*, *Lan*, *Rog1* and *Sar1* use phrase **2a** for verses 2 and 3 and phrase **2d** for verse 4, reserving the emphatic phrase for the final verse.




EXAMPLE 105

The final verse of each of the four tracts under discussion here ends with the standard phrases **3c** and **4f**. Final phrases of verses in these ninth-century chants show less variety than those of the core repertory.[49] In *Deus deus meus*, the first verse ends with a non-formulaic and emphatic phrase. This phrase became a standard gambit in the chants composed *c.* 900, being used in *Confitemini* verse 3 (see Example 106), *Diffusa est gratia* verse 1, *Tu es Petrus* verse 3 (in *Kor*), and verses 1, 2 and 3 of *Audi filia*. In none of these chants could one argue that the phrase has retained its original, emphatic function. Use of the phrase in the first three verses of *Audi filia*, like use of phrase **2a1** in the last three verses, discussed above, differentiates the chant from the other three.[50]




EXAMPLE 106

## *Treatment of the formulaic phrases*

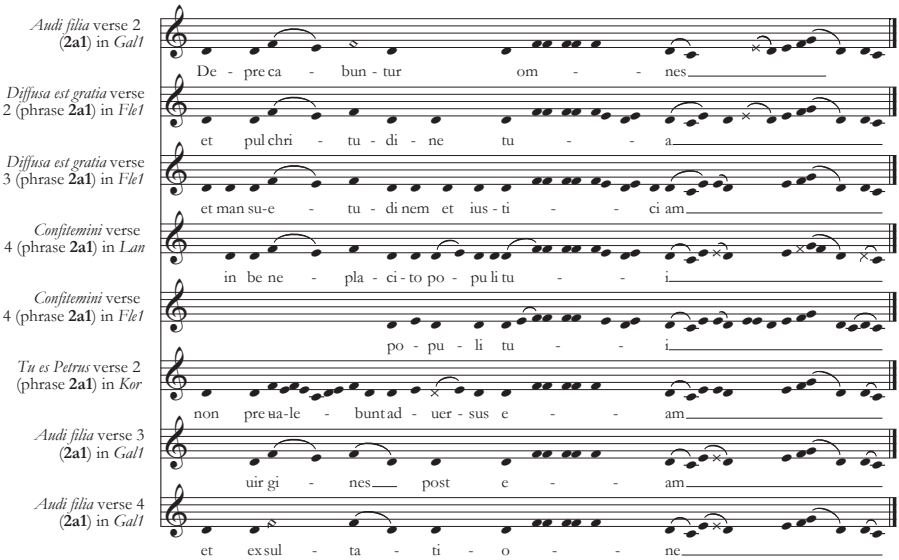
While the formulaic phrases are sometimes used in a manner compatible with that found in the core repertory, with the appropriate accent patterns, and the usual association of certain melodic patterns with accented or unaccented syllables, this is by no means always the case.

49 *AOFGC*, 121.

50 The standardisation of the verse-ending phrases of *Audi filia* was discussed by Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 85.

In the core repertory and *Eripe me*, *Fle1* differentiates clearly between *comma* *, starting *FGa*, and continuing with the melisma (*a*)*GFEFEDE* (*E*)*D*, and phrase **X**, where the melisma opens *DFEFEF* and contines *aGFFEDE ED* (see pp. 69–70). In *Tu es Petrus* verse 4, and *Confitemini* verses 3 and 4, however, the phrase begins with the *FGa* rise of *comma* *, but continues with the melisma *aGFFEDE ED*, usually associated with phrase **X**. The differentiation between these two cadences was lost in *Fle1* for these chants.[51]

As in *Eripe me*, use of phrase **2** in these chants is not compatible with its appearances in the core repertory. As shown in Example 107, phrase **2a1** is used in the usual way, with *F* on the accent following *FE*, and the closing accent pattern /–/– only in *Audi filia* verse 2, where it follows *syllaba* **W**, also used before **2a1** in *Deus deus meus* verse 5.[52]

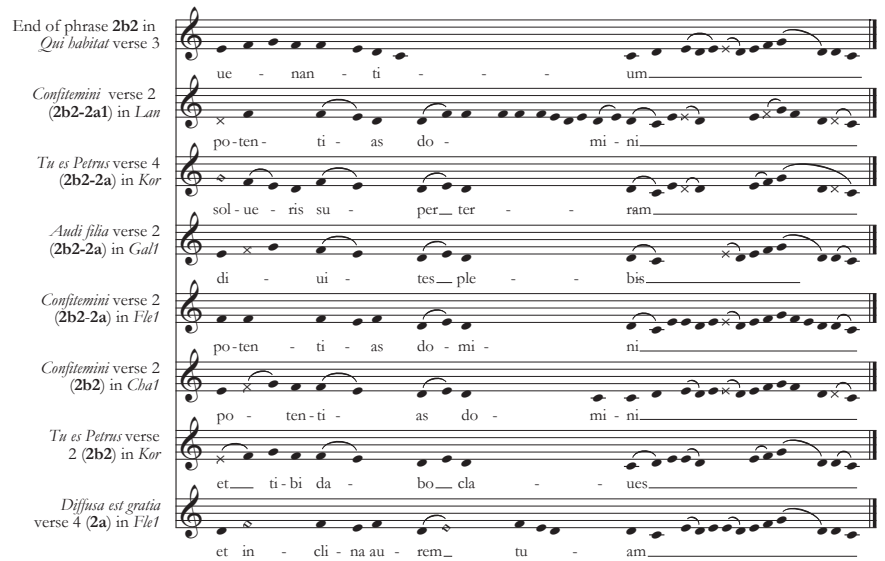



EXAMPLE 107

51 The usual *comma* * shapes are used in the same manuscript in *Diffusa est gratia*.

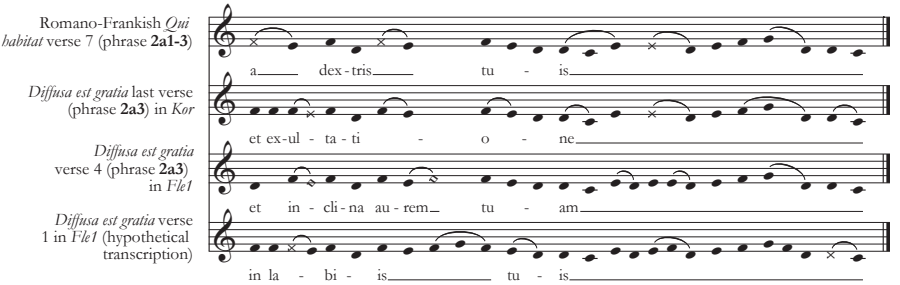
52 Phrase **2a1** is used with the usual melody but the closing accent pattern /– –/–, and a *D* on the extra syllable before the repeated *F* figure, in *Diffusa est gratia* verse 2. Both *Diffusa est gratia* verse 3 and *Confitemini* verse 4 (in *Lan*) use the phrase with *F* on the accent, after *FE*, but with the closing accent patterns /– – and /– –/–, respectively, and extra *D* recitation (with *DE* on the accent in *Confitemini* verse 4) to accommodate the extra syllables in the middle of the phrase. This solution occurs also in *Eripe me* verse 11 (see Example 94 on p. 141), but has no equivalent in the core repertory. *Confitemini* verse 4 (in *Fle1*) has only the *DE D* recitation, since 'in beneplacito' uses the phrase **2d** opening, as shown in Example 105. *Tu es Petrus* verse 2 (in *Kor*) has the phrase **2a2** opening on 'inferi' (*FG FEC D*), and then continues with phrase **2a1** used normally except that the usual *F* on the accent is ornamented profusely as *FECDEF*, echoing the opening fall of phrase **2a2**) – this phrase moves beyond the usual melodic outlines of phrase **2a1**. *Audi filia* verses 3 and 4 use phrase **2a1** normally, except that verse 3 has an unconventional accent pattern and loses the usual association between accents and melodic patterns, and both verses 3 and 4 use *FD* instead of *F* where the main accent usually falls.

Phrase **2** often begins with an opening characteristic of this group of chants, found preceding both the **2a** and the **2b** cadence (see Example 108). This shape has no fixed association of particular melodic shapes with accented or unaccented syllables, and is similar to the shapes preceding the cadence in phrase **2b2**. In *Confitemini* verse 2, *Lan* uses the phrase **2a1** cadence, *Fle1* uses the phrase **2a** cadence, and *Cha1* instead has the phrase **2b** cadence, which is compatible with the accent pattern.




EXAMPLE 108

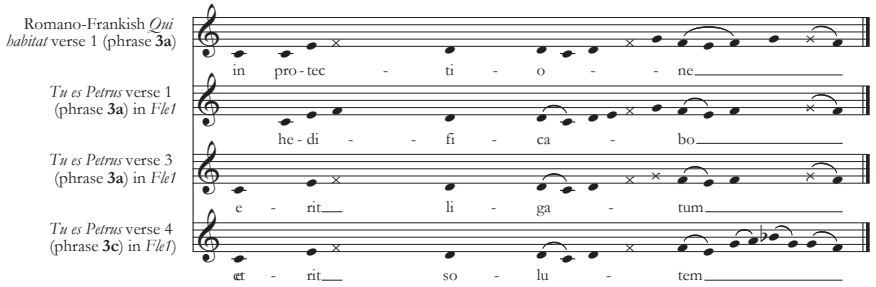
The final verse of *Diffusa est gratia* in *Kor* uses the version of phrase **2a3** also found in *Qui habitat* verse 7, and phrase **2a3** is also used in verse 4 of *Diffusa est gratia* in *Fle1* (see Example 109). The neumes beginning the phrase **2a** in *Diffusa est gratia* verse 1 in *Fle1* are incompatible with any other phrase types, but are closest to phrase **2a3**.




EXAMPLE 109

As the above examples show, the shapes used for phrase **2** in this set of chants are not consistently the same as those used in the core-repertory chants, and there are many fewer formulaic phrases used.

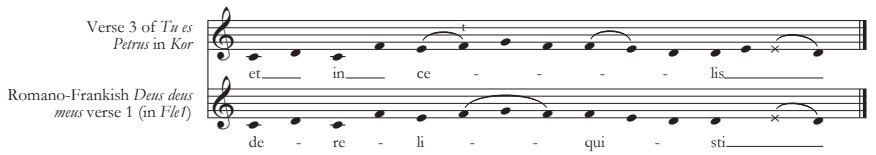
The primary difference between the core-repertory chants and this group of chants in their use of phrase 3 is that where, in the core repertory, C opens the phrase and *EF* is used for the first main accent, this is often not the case here. In *Tu es Petrus* in *Kor*, phrase **3c** on 'erit solutum' begins *CEF* on 'e-' because of the small amount of text available. Such elision of the pitches is not found in the core-repertory chants. In *Tu es Petrus* verses 1, 3 and 4 in *Fle1* the first accent does not receive the pitches *EF* (see Example 110). The same happens in *Confitemini* verse 1, where both *Cha1* and *Fle1* have *EF* on '(quoni)am' at the beginning of phrase **3b**.




EXAMPLE 110

While phrases **3a** and **3b** are generally chosen according to the accent pattern, *Lan* uses phrase **3a** in *Confitemini* verse 3, despite ending with the word 'iustitiam', here treated as if accented 'iustitíam'). *Audi filia* verse 1 also uses phrase **3a**, with the accents treated enclitically as 'quoniám concúpiuít rex'.[53] It is possible that when these chants were composed, the role of accent pattern in determining melodic shape was no longer fully in operation.

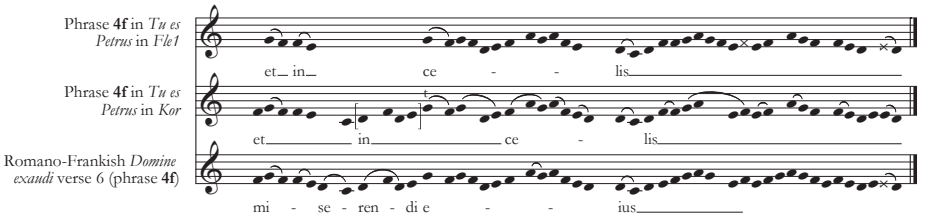
The phrase which closes *Deus deus meus* verse 1 is often used in these chants, as discussed above. In *Tu es Petrus* verse 3 in *Kor*, there are only four syllables instead of the usual five, and the material usually associated with two syllables is elided onto one (see Example 111).




EXAMPLE 111

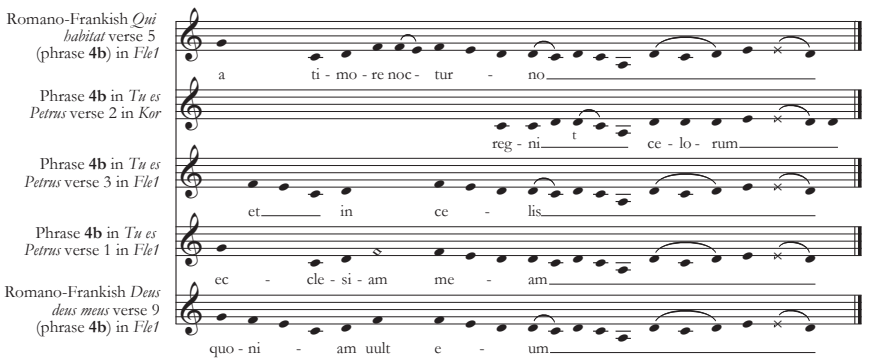
In *Tu es Petrus*, phrase **4f** is different from that seen in the core-repertory chants, because of the lack of text available. In *Fle1* this affects only the opening syllables, and in *Kor* it affects the underlay of the entire phrase (see Example 112).

53 *CR*, 195. This is the case in *Lei* too where, if the usual alignment of accents with melodic shapes is in operation, the phrase is treated as 'quiá concúpivít rex'.



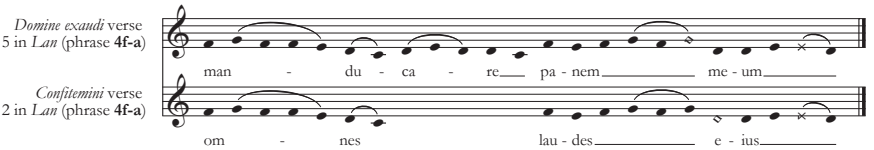

EXAMPLE 112

Phrase **4b** is used with the appropriate accent pattern /– –/– in *Tu es Petrus* verse 3 in *Fle1*. In verse 2 of the same chant in *Kor*, melodic shapes close to those usually comprising the cadential melisma are used for the entire phrase (see Example 113).




EXAMPLE 113

In *Confitemini* verse 2, *Lan* uses the phrase **4f** opening followed by the phrase **4a** cadence, a combination found also in *Lan* in *Domine exaudi* verse 5 (see Example 114, and the discussion on p. 105, n. 105).

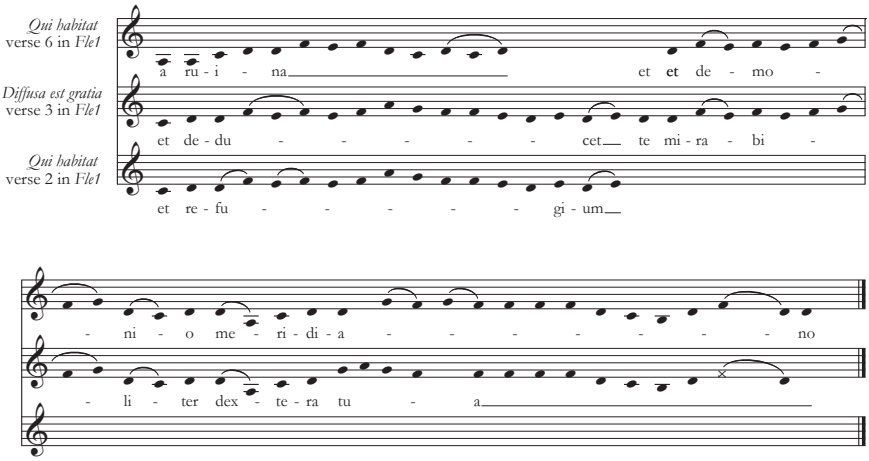



EXAMPLE 114

Phrase **4a** is used with the accent pattern /– –/– rather than /–/– in *Tu es Petrus* verse 2 in *Fle1* and in *Confitemini* verse 1 in *Fle1* and *Cha1*. Phrase **4b** is used with the accent pattern /–/– rather than the usual /– –/– in *Tu es Petrus* verse 3 in *Fle1*. It seems likely that, rather than being emphatic, the association of particular phrase shapes with particular accent patterns had been lost, as in *Eripe me* (see pp. 140–3).

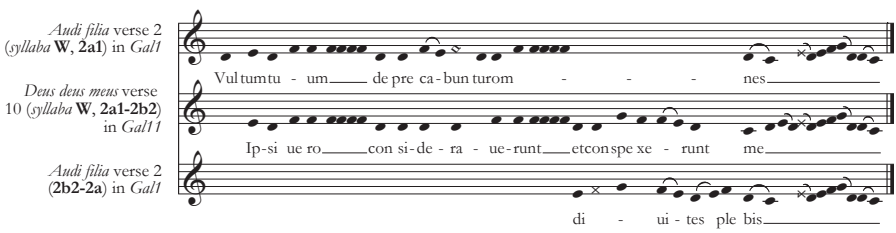
*Fle1* has a centonised phrase to end *Diffusa est gratia* verse 3, consisting of *comma* X-phrase **4a** (with no cadence)–phrase Z (see Example 115). The combination of

these elements is unprecedented, although all are found in *Qui habitat*; 'et refugium' may have acted as a text cue on 'et deducet'. *Lei* instead begins the centonised phrase with *comma* **Y**, resulting in exactly the same musical profile as the end of *Qui habitat* verse 6; the similarity between the two manuscripts suggests that one or other of these centonised phrases is original to the chant.




EXAMPLE 115

In *Audi filia*, 'Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes diuites plebis' is the first half of verse 2. One might have expected *Audi filia* to have phrase **1c** on 'Vultum tuum', since it is associated with the second verses of tracts (including both *Deus deus meus* and *Eripe me*). Instead, *syllaba* **W** is used, as in *Deus deus meus* verse 10, as an introduction to phrase **2** (see Example 116). Where *Deus deus meus* verse 10 uses phrase **2b2** after *syllaba* **W** and the phrase **2a1** recitation, *Audi filia* has a complete **2a1** cadence on 'omnes' and then has a separate phrase **2b2** on 'diuites plebis' which is instead completed by the phrase **2a** cadence. Such a convoluted description perhaps indicates the possible process in play here, where a cantor was prompted by the repeated *F* figure to insert a phrase **2a1** cadence. The cantor's return to the model, and phrase **2b2**, was undermined by use of the phrase **2a** cadence, which is more accentually appropriate for the text ending 'plebis'.[54]




EXAMPLE 116

54 Schmidt offers no explanation for this departure from the expected formal structure: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954), 95.

As the above discussion has shown, the formulaic phrases are not used in ways which are entirely compatible with the formulaic system as expressed in the core-repertory chants. The association of particular phrases with particular accent patterns, and of particular melodic patterns with accented or unaccented syllables, is not consistently followed. Further, when the amount of text usually associated with particular second-mode tract phrases is not present, the melodic line is altered to fit the text available in ways which never occur in the core repertory, including the phrase **4b** cadence being used to provide the melody for a whole phrase, and an extra *DE D* recitation often being added to phrase **2a1**.

### *The division of the text*

As in the core-repertory chants, the division of the text into musical phrases generally articulates the syntax. The divisions are shown in the analytical tables in Appendix 1. The main exceptions concern the use of *comma* *, discussed above on p. 165. A further example is *Audi filia* verse 4, where the melody in *Gal1* divides halfway through the prepositional phrase rather than before it.

The division of the text in *Tu es Petrus* is incompatible in different manuscripts. In the first half of verse 2, the genitive 'inferi' belongs syntactically with the subject rather than with the predicate, but *Kor* places it in the same melodic phrase as the predicate. In the second verse half, *Kor* divides before the genitives which describe the object, although these elements belong together syntactically. *Fle1* instead divides the text as follows: 'Et porte/ inferi non preualebunt/ aduersus eam/ et tibi dabo claues regni celorum'. Here, the whole of the second clause receives phrase **4** material, and the first clause divides not only before the genitive 'inferi', but also before the prepositional phrase 'aduersus eam' (which has phrase **3**).[55]

### *Melodic variants in the second-mode tracts composed c. 900*

In general, when there is a non-standard phrase in some manuscripts and the expected phrase in others, it is much more likely that some traditions moved towards the norm than that other traditions diverged from it. Once a phrase moves towards the norm in a formulaic genre, there are strong mnemonic prompts to help keep it stable, in a process of progressive stereotyping.

In *Confitemini*, the first verse ends with the accentually inappropriate **4a** in *Fle1* and *Cha1*, but with phrase **4c** in *Lan*. Phrase **4a** is used several times outside the usual accent context in these chants: either the Breton manuscripts replaced the textually appropriate phrase with an unexpected but widely used phrase, or *Lan* did the opposite. In verse 2, the phrase **2a** cadence is used in *Fle1* and *Lan*, and

55 This text division is shared by later manuscripts from Aquitaine as well as Bec or Bec-influenced manuscripts (for example, *Alb*, *Bec*, *Crow*, *Iri*, *Mal3*, *Mal4*, *Mor4*, *Sab*, *Vor1* and *Yrx*). While *Kor*'s half-verse division after 'aduersus eam' is shared by later manuscripts such as *Bre*, *Clu1*, *Dij1*, *Lan*, *Mog4*, *Pas2*, *Rog1* and *Sar1*, these manuscripts divide after the verb 'dabo', having a phrase for the object together with its genitives ('claues regni celorum'). Of the manuscripts I have examined, only *Stm* divides the text in the same way as *Kor*, but it does not share the same melodic profile.

this is hardly surprising since the phrase **2b** cadence, despite being accentually appropriate, hardly appears in the new chants. Either *Cha1* reflects a move towards the standard phrase for second-mode tracts, or *Fle1* and *Lan* reflect a move towards the standard phrase for these particular second-mode tracts. In *Lan*, verse 2 ends with the hybrid phrase **4f–a**, perhaps beginning in this way because of the text cue of 'miserendi' in *Domine exaudi* verse 6, or more simply following the model of *Domine exaudi* verse 5. This cue is not in operation in the Breton tradition: *Fle1* and *Cha1* once again have phrase **4a**. Either *Lan* has replaced the standard phrase for this chant with a textually prompted phrase or, in the Breton manuscripts, the expectation of using the standard phrase has overridden the text cue. In verse 3, one would expect to encounter phrase **3b**, as used in the Breton manuscripts, rather than the phrase **3a** found in *Lan*, but the distinction between the two phrase types is not secure in the new chants. The penultimate verse ends with phrase **4c** in *Fle1* and *Cha1* like the penultimate verse of *Deus deus meus*. *Lan* instead uses the phrase found in *Deus deus meus* verse 1. Both traditions follow the model of *Deus deus meus*, but based on different verses, and the precedence of one over another cannot be established. In the final verse, use of the phrase **2d** melisma at the beginning of the second phrase reflects the influence of phrase **2d** elsewhere in the new chants, but the non-standard combination of phrase **2d** and phrase **2a1** material suggests that the combination is more likely to have been lost in *Lan* than newly interpolated into an existing chant in Brittany. The evidence is inconclusive. Sometimes the less-expected phrase appears in *Lan*, sometimes in the Breton manuscripts, so one cannot tell which, if either, is likely to be more altered from the original conception of the chant.

The appearance of versions of *Diffusa est gratia* with four, eight, nine or ten verses in different manuscripts immediately signals an unstable transmission, and the textual overlap with *Audi filia* might even suggest that *Audi filia* was yet another interpretation of the same idea of using Psalm 44 [45] to provide a Marian second-mode tract text. The four-verse *Diffusa est gratia* in *Lei* is rather different from that in *Fle1*, reminding us that having the same text is insufficient to guarantee a stable musical transmission for these ninth-century chants. In verse 1, 'in labiis tuis' uses the phrase **2b4** standard for these chants in *Lei*, but phrase **2a3** in *Fle1*. In verse 2, *Lei* uses the expected phrase **1c** while *Fle1* uses phrase **1a**, rarely encountered in these new chants. At the end of the verse, *Lei* uses phrase **4c**, often encountered in these chants and prompted by the model of *Deus deus meus*, while *Fle1* uses phrase **4b**. Verse 3 ends with slightly different outlines, where each manuscript reflects a different cue from *Qui habitat*, although *Lei* is closer to the model, having exactly the same as the end of *Qui habitat* verse 6. In the final verse, *Fle1* once again uses phrase **2a3** rather than the phrase **2d** found in *Lei* and associated closely with these new chants. In every case, the version in *Lei* is closer to the standard forms for the new chants, and the melodic shape in *Fle1* is more idiosyncratic, suggesting that it may be the older form.

*Tu es Petrus* appears in very different versions in *Kor* and *Fle1*. In the first verse, *Fle1* follows a text cue where *Kor* has the formally expected phrases. At the end of the verse, the omission of phrase **3** and the probable use of phrase **Z** lends emphasis

to the text 'edificabo ecclesiam meam' in *Kor*. In the second verse, *Fle1* uses phrase **2d**, standard for the set of chants being considered here. The two manuscripts have a different text division and, in *Kor*, division between the subject 'claues' and its genitives 'regni celorum', together with the use on 'et tibi dabo claues' of phrase **2b** rather than phrase **3**, lends particular emphasis to 'claues' (keys), St Peter's most iconic attribute. In the third verse, *Fle1* has phrase **1a** where *Kor* has phrase **Z**, associated with verse 3 in these chants, and the verse ends in *Kor* with the phrase taken from *Deus deus meus* verse 1, also associated with these chants, while *Fle1* uses phrase **4b**. It is perhaps worth noting that exactly these two phrases, **1a** and **4b**, are also used in *Fle1* in *Diffusa est gratia* where *Lei* has the phrases more closely associated with this group of chants; *Fle1* may reflect the preferences of a particular cantor. In the final verse, *Fle1* once again has the standard phrase **2d** while *Kor* has a hybrid phrase **2**. Although most emphatic phrases had apparently become stereotyped in the new chants, the key portions of this Petrine text seem to be emphasised musically in *Kor* (at least in the first two verses): 'edificabo ecclesiam meam' ('I will build my church'); and 'et tibi dabo claves' ('and to you I will give the keys'). *Kor* emerges as the least stereotyped version of the chant, and perhaps the closest to the chant as it was composed. This is hardly surprising, given that the chant was copied into *Kor* within a generation of its composition and maybe as much as fifty years before any of the other extant witnesses. Although the oldest witness need not be the most reliable, *Kor* is differentiated in melodic process from the rest of the tradition. Despite the lack of adherence to the formulaic system on the level of underlay and recitation in both manuscripts, the *Kor* version of *Tu es Petrus* can partly be interpreted as a purposeful reading of the text, unlike the *Fle1* version: the aesthetic appears to have been lost in the years between the copying of *Kor c.* 900 and the copying of *Fle1* in the tenth century, and is not apparent in the versions of the chant found in later manuscripts, none of which is directly modelled on either *Kor* or *Fle1*.

## The notation of the new chants

The way in which the new chants are notated in the earliest manuscripts further illustrates the differentiation between their understanding and the understanding of the core repertory. Since *Kor* and *Lei* preserve only ninth-century second-mode tracts (plus some possibly tenth-century ones in *Lei*), it is not possible to compare the notation of these tracts with core-repertory tracts in these manuscripts. This discussion must therefore be limited to *Gal1*, *Cha1*, *Lan* and *Fle1*.

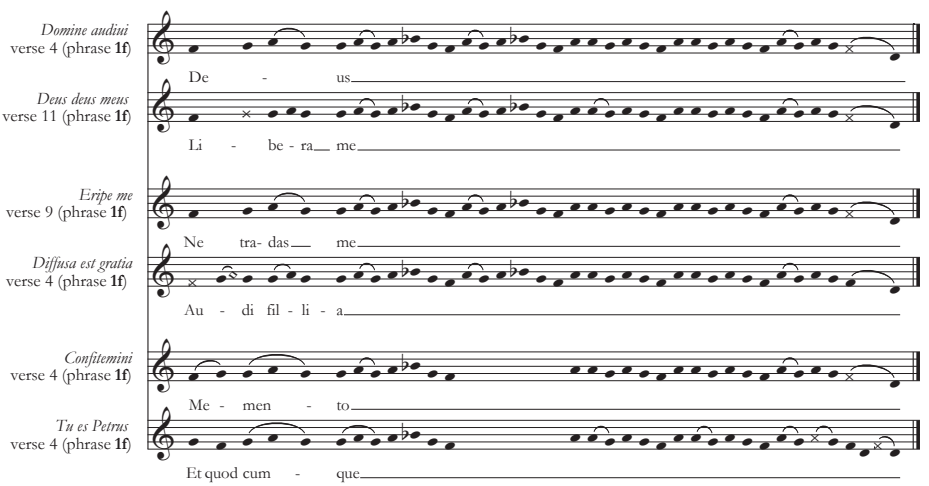
In *Gal1*, when the same phrase is used in *Audi filia* and one or more of the other tracts, the precise neumes are often different, and there is generally less rhythmic nuance in *Audi filia*.[56] Such differences confirm that *Audi filia* was not copied

56 Compare the final melisma of 'et inclina aurem tuam' in *Audi filia* (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>, Saint Gall, MS 359, p. 54) with the melisma on 'respice in me' in *Deus deus meus* (p. 90). Also compare the neumes on the antepenultimate syllables of 'speciem tuam', 'in honore tuo' and

directly from one or other of the core-repertory second-mode tracts in *Gal1* (and this is hardly surprising since it precedes all the other second-mode tracts in the manuscript). They also suggest: that *Audi filia* was not copied directly from one or other of the other second-mode tracts in a notated exemplar, if indeed such an exemplar was used in the writing of *Gal1*; and that the performance of *Audi filia* as captured by the music scribe was generally less nuanced (or at least it was considered less important to fix the nuance in notation) than that of the core-repertory chants.

*Confitemini* is not in the same performing tradition as the other second-mode tracts in either *Lan* or *Cha1*. The clearest example is the phrase **2** cadence which, in both *Lan* and *Cha1*, has an extra note (*EFGEDDC* or *EFGFDDC* rather than *EFGDDC*). In *Lan*, the performing nuances of *Confitemini* are sometimes differentiated from those of the core-repertory chants. Phrase **1c** provides an example of this: while *Deus deus meus* has 't' (i.e. hold) at the end of each of the four compound neumes, *Domine audiui* has a single 't' at the beginning of the melisma, and *Eripe me* and *Domine exaudi* have no significative letters relating to rhythm, *Confitemini* has 'n' (meaning *nectere*, join together) at the end of the first, third and fifth compound neumes (see Example 117 on p. 177).

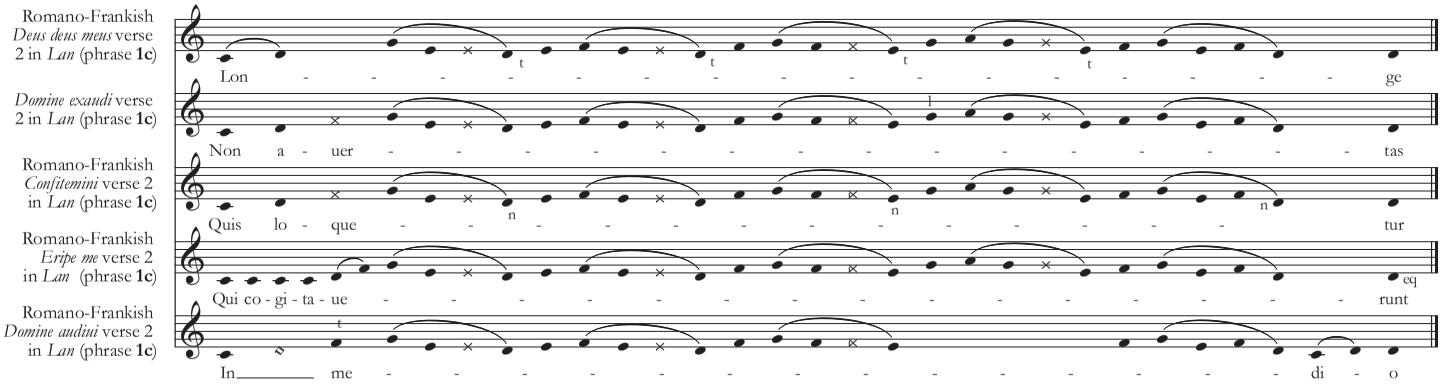
In *Fle1*, there are several clear notational differences between the core-repertory chants and the group of newly composed ones. In phrase **1f**, for example, *Confitemini* and *Tu es Petrus* omit one of the repeated flourishes (see Example 118). *Fle1* often has an extra *EED* or *ED* oscillation in the phrase **2** melisma in the three new chants, illustrated in Examples 107, 108 and 109; the extra note in the cadence occasionally appears, as in *Lan* and *Cha1*.[57] In *Fle1*, phrase **3** sometimes ends with a




EXAMPLE 118

'offerentur tibi' in *Audi filia* with those of 'dereliquisti' in *Deus deus meus* (p. 90) and 'libera me' in *Eripe me* (p. 99).

57 In *Fle1*, it is found in *Confitemini* verses 2 and 4, *Diffusa est gratia* verse 1 and *Tu es Petrus* verse 4.


Romano-Frankish
*Deus deus meus* verse 2 in *Lan* (phrase **1c**)
Lon - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ge
*Domine exaudi* verse 2 in *Lan* (phrase **1c**)
Non a - uer - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tas
Romano-Frankish
*Confitemini* verse 2 in *Lan* (phrase **1c**)
Quis lo - que - - - - - - - - - - - - - tur
Romano-Frankish
*Eripe me* verse 2 in *Lan* (phrase **1c**)
Qui co - gi - ta - ue - - - - - - - - - - - - runt
Romano-Frankish
*Domine audiui* verse 2 in *Lan* (phrase **1c**)
In_____ me - - - - - - - - - - - - - di - o

EXAMPLE 117

pressus rather than a clivis in the new chants.[58]

As the above illustrative examples demonstrate, *Confitemini* in *Fle1*, *Cha1* and *Lan*, and *Tu es Petrus* and *Diffusa est gratia* in *Fle1*, do not sit within the local performing traditions as expressed in the notation of the core-repertory second-mode tracts in these manuscripts. There is not one consistent way of performing this group of chants, but the performative options for each phrase are different from those available in the core repertory, and broadly consistent across the three chants and the three manuscripts. The similar variant of the *Confitemini* phrase 2 cadence in the three manuscripts suggests a common performance origin (a common notational origin seems less likely given the more significant variants between the melody as found in the three manuscripts). These second-mode tracts were understood as being separate from the core repertory, not only in their composition, but also in their mode of performance.

## Conclusions

By closely reading *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus* (in *Fle1*), it is possible to establish that the texts are very different from those of the core repertory in origin (not using the Roman Psalter), subject matter, selection of text (one New Testament text, and the others centonised from psalms) and division of the text into phrases. The melodic phrases used follow a different rationale to that found in the core repertory: emphatic phrases are used in particular verses in these chants rather than in response to the text; and there is a preference for particular phrases, apparently regardless of rhetorical potential. The minutiae of particular melodic patterns being associated with accented or unaccented syllables is often lost, and the formulaic phrases are not used in the same forms as in the core repertory. The chants are notated in a different way from the core-repertory chants. In *Lei*, the group of second-mode tracts comprises only 'new' ones. *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus* have much in common structurally, and arose in the same musical culture, perhaps modelled on each other, or (less likely) the result of a single creative act. The chants considered here are clearly differentiated from the core repertory in their textual, formal, melodic and notational characteristics. While none of these chants were explicitly identified as *nuperrime compilatum* like *Eripe me* (see p. 136), their separation from the core-repertory second-mode tracts is implicit in almost every characteristic of their notated form.[59]

Pfisterer writes that 'the dissemination of these pieces clearly takes place at the

58 In *Confitemini* verse 4, *Diffusa est gratia* verses 2 and 3, and *Tu es Petrus* verses 1 and 3. This variant is found in *Eripe me* in this manuscript (verses 1, 4 and 5), and also in several of the chants probably composed during the tenth century (*Dixit dominus*, *Dignare domino* and *Domine non secundum*) but in the core repertory it is only found in *Qui habitat* verse 1, where most manuscripts have *FEF* instead of the *FEFGGF* cadence, suggesting that the full cadence was interpolated at a point where this ornamented cadence had already entered the performance practice.

59 Pfisterer writes that the medieval singers could not have known which the new chants in the repertory were, but this is patently not the case: see *CR*, 92.

same time as the recording in written form of the extant chant. If notation was a condition or even the basis for the unity and stability of what was transmitted, then the transmission of these collections and of all later ones would have to be more unified than those of the core repertory. The converse is the case, however.'[60] This is confirmed by the above discussion. Rather than the core-repertory second-mode tracts having taken their present form in the later-ninth century as a result of notation, the tracts composed around this time suggest that a very different understanding of the genre was in play *c*. 900. It is clear that the oral tradition, which had previously maintained the core repertory, was strong enough and the chants were well memorised enough for the core-repertory chants to have maintained their individual and rhetorically nuanced melodic profiles into the written record.

The version of *Tu es Petrus* found in *Kor* perhaps preserves a tradition in which emphatic phrases still played a rhetorical role, to some extent, although the minutiae of composition are differentiated from the core repertory. It may be that the explicit understanding of the rhetorical and formulaic structure of the genre only became diluted as notation became widely used. Certainly, such rhetorical features are absent from the other three chants, which may only have been composed ten or twenty years after the late-ninth-century *Tu es Petrus*. Rather than having been a 'rescue operation' for the chant,[61] the technology of notation may itself have damaged the understanding of the repertory.

60 'Die Verbreitung dieser Stücke findet offenbar zur gleichen Zeit statt wie die Verschriftlichung der Choralüberlieferung. Wäre die musikalische Schrift Bedingung oder gar Grund für die Einheitlichkeit und Stabilität der Überlieferung, dann müsste die Überlieferung dieser Ergänzungen und aller späteren einheitlicher sein als die des Kernrepertoires. Das Gegenteil ist aber der Fall': *CR*, 93.

61 Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory', 368.

# CONCLUSION

The primary goal of the present study has been to uncover the compositional principles of the second-mode tracts. The Roman origin of the core-repertory second-mode tracts is suggested by their use of the Roman Psalter (or the Septuagint, in the case of *Domine audiui*), and is confirmed by the close relationship of the second-mode tracts in the Old Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions. Textual syntax is an important factor in the formal structure of the second-mode tracts: the phrases tend to divide in accordance with the syntax, or follow textual cues. This study goes beyond an identification of the phrases (*cola*), *commata* and *syllaba* of the second-mode tracts, together with the textual and/or formal contexts in which each is used, by exploring the connections between exegetically important words, unexpected, emphatic or non-formulaic phrases, and non-syntactical text divisions.

## The history of the genre and its compositional chronology

The formal and structural characteristics of the second-mode tracts illuminate the history of the genre. The genre's rhetorical characteristics suggest that each tract in its extant form was the product of a single creative effort by an individual or group of individuals, rather than evolving over many centuries, and this creativity almost certainly took place in the papal *schola cantorum* in Rome before the mid-eighth century. The Old Roman tradition tends to use more standard formulaic phrases and fewer emphatic ones than the Romano-Frankish tradition, suggesting a gradual process of progressive stereotyping within the long oral tradition in Rome.

Attempts to establish a compositional chronology of the second-mode tracts have been characteristic of previous analyses of the genre.[1] I argue that, rather than being a second-mode tract, *De necessitatibus* is a gradual with a close melodic relationship to the tracts, and that the state of the chant can be understood without needing to account in chronological terms for its incompatibility with the norms of the genre. This is in contrast to previous studies, in which the differentiation of *De necessitatibus* from the other chants has generally led to it being considered as

1 See, for example, Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954); Hucke, 'Tractusstudien', 116–20; *AOFGC*.

the latest of the second-mode tracts. Occasionally *De necessitatibus* has been seen as the earliest second-mode tract, based on the theory that since the ninth-century second-mode tracts show the closest affinities to *Deus deus meus* and *Qui habitat*, these two chants are likely to have been the most recently composed, in a musical idiom which was still current.[2] However, before the era of recorded sound, any music composed more than about forty years previously was regarded as old, and the second-mode tracts imported from Rome will all have been equally 'Gregorian' – that is, equally ancient and equally authoritative – in the minds of the ninth-century Frankish cantors. The hypothesis that certain phrase shapes were only available to composers in certain eras, while the older phrase shapes remained part of the performance culture, demands closer inspection.

Only *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* use the emphatic phrases **1e**, **X** and **Z**, and *syllaba* **W**, and, in the Romano-Frankish tradition, the opening phrases of these two chants are more closely related to each other than to *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*. *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* use phrases **4a**, **4b** and **4c** until the final verse while *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*, by contrast, use the phrase **4d/e/f** nexus (although the recitation of phrase **4d** appears in the Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus*). There are several textual cues associated with *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus* but not *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui*: the association of phrase **1g** with a verb plus prepositional phrase; 'domin-' as a cue to use phrase **1d**; 'per diem'; and 'eripiat/eripiam eum'. The first verses of *Domine exaudi* and *Domine audiui* are textually and musically in parallel.

The four second-mode tracts may be grouped in two closely related pairs: *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus*, and *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi*. However, in the present study I have argued that the melodic state of each chant is a reflection of its liturgical, textual, formal and performative circumstances: compositional strata need not be relevant at all. For example, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi* arguably use phrase **4f** in many verses not because their melodic state is necessarily older than that of *Qui habitat* and *Deus deus meus*, but because they were performed responsorially, at least in some times and at some places. Only three verses in *Domine exaudi* or *Domine audiui* begin with a text incorporating a 'domin-' word. Two of these are in the first verse of each chant, and the formal cue to use phrase **0** is followed rather than the text cue to use phrase **1d**. The last is in the final verse of *Domine exaudi* , where 'Tu exurgens domine' is treated emphatically (see p. 106). This need not mean that the text cue was unknown at the time of the tracts' establishment in their present form. The structures of the four chants suggest that they were transmitted in two pairs with comparable compositional logic and structure: the

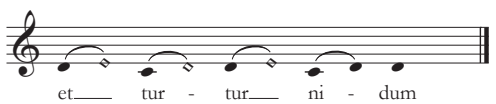
2 While Schmidt and Hucke argued that *De necessitatibus* postdates the other chants, having taken the formulaic structure of the genre as a point of compositional departure, Karp argues that *De necessitatibus* does not follow the formulaic structure of the genre because it predates the other chants and formed a model for them: see Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1954) and Hucke, 'Tractusstudien'. Karp's chronology is based on the differences between phrase types used in different second-mode tracts: phrases **4d** and **4e** being used in the first stratum of *De necessitatibus*, *Domine audiui* and *Domine exaudi*, for example, while phrases **4a** and **4b** take over in the next stratum of *Qui habitat*, *Deus deus meus* and *Eripe me*: see *AOFGC*, 99–134.

*in directum* chants; and the responsorial ones. The general principles of the genre are in operation in all four chants, as is the attempt to articulate a particular textual interpretation through use of decorated formulaic phrases and unique material. It is not possible to separate the two pairs chronologically or conceptually; instead, they represent different realisations of the same compositional principles.

Rather than supposing that *Eripe me* is melodically close to *Deus deus meus* because it attained its current melodic state at a similar time, I argue that the similarities result from *Eripe me* having been consciously compiled as a Passion chant, drawing on the idioms of the Passion chant *Deus deus meus*. *Eripe me*, compiled in Francia *c.* 790–830, was not independently composed within the structural norms of the genre, indicating that, while the Franks successfully adopted Roman chant, they were not expert and native composers within the Roman idiom even in the early-ninth century. *Audi filia*, *Confitemini*, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Tu es Petrus*, dating from the late-ninth century, are different in every conceivable way (textually, compositionally, notationally and, with the possible exception of *Tu es Petrus* in *Kor*, rhetorically) from the core repertory. The understanding of the genre at the time of their composition was not sophisticated and rhetorically nuanced, and does not follow the same formulaic principles as the core-repertory chants. It is thus clear that the state of the core-repertory second-mode tracts in the notated manuscripts dated *c.* 900 is not a function of their notation,[3] but is a well-remembered written reflection of a long oral tradition.

## The relationship between text and music in Western liturgical chant

It is well known that word painting is rare in Western liturgical chant. For the melody on 'ascendit' to rise is the noted exception rather than the rule.[4] The most famous example of word painting is perhaps that of the turtle dove in the communion chant *Passer inuenit* where the syllables of 'turtur' each have a liquescent neume on them in several early manuscripts (such as *Lan* or *Gal1*, each of which is consistent with the transcription in Example 119), so that when the 'r' of each syllable is semi-vocalised, the sound of the turtle dove emerges in song:

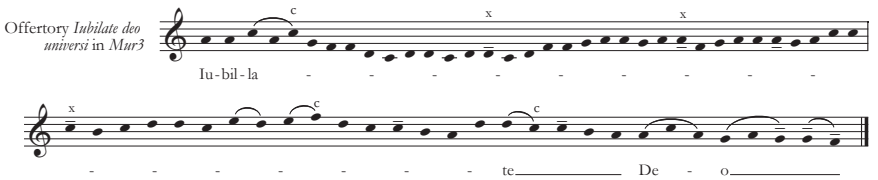



EXAMPLE 119

3 *Pace* Kenneth Levy, 'Gregorian Chant and Oral Transmission', in Graeme Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes: Isham Library Papers* 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 277–86: 282–3.

4 For several examples of word painting, see William Mahrt, 'Word-Painting and Formulaic Chant', in Robert A. Skeris (ed.), *Cum angelis canere: Essays on Sacred Music and Pastoral Liturgy in Honor of Richard J. Schuler* (Saint Paul, MN, 1990), 113–44. An example of word painting involving the word 'ascende' in the offertory *Sanctificavit Moyses* is discussed in Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 3.

There was a tendency in the early-twentieth century to present romanticised commentaries about supposedly expressive text setting within chant melodies.[5] The most frequently cited example is Dom Gajard's description of the melisma reproduced in Example 120: 'the phrase climbs by a succession of leaps, in the manner of a great and mighty wave hurling itself into an attack on some cliff – a formidable acclamation to God'.[6] The text 'Iubilate deo' is coloured here with extra interpretative imagery: God as a massive cliff, and the praise of the faithful as a wave. But where is the cliff in the melody? And how does one decide that this particular oscillating figure represents a wave of water but the other oscillations one commonly encounters in chant do not have aquatic connotations? Further, describing 'Iubilate' ('praise') as an attack is unfortunate, to say the least.




EXAMPLE 120

It is hardly surprising that, since the 1950s, scholars have generally rejected this sort of interpretation, either claiming that 'the music of chant . . . does not express the meaning of the words directly',[7] or avoiding the issue entirely. While there have been significant contributions to our understanding of the role of chant melody in articulating text,[8] the role of chant melody in articulating textual meaning has been less closely studied. Indeed, there has been little advance on the understanding reached in Dominicus Johner's 1940 monograph *Wort und Ton im Choral*, in which he came to the conclusion that the most significant influence on the shape of a melody is the genre of a chant, rather than its words.[9] This is certainly true for the formulaic phrases of the second-mode tracts, and considering the formal context, the accent patterns and the textual cues helps to explain why certain phrase shapes are used for certain portions of text. However, not all of the melodic content can be understood by such means. To understand fully the musical grammar of a vocal genre, and how it is being expressed in specific instances, it is necessary also to consider what the text means, the grammar of the text, and how that text was understood and read both as an independent entity and as part of a broader interpretative

5 Terence Bailey, 'Word-Painting and the Romantic Interpretation of Chant', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer* (Ottawa, 1990), 1–15.

6 As quoted by John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1986), 292–3.

7 Stevens, *Words and Music*, 307.

8 Perhaps the most notable of these is Rankin, 'Carolingian Music'. For example: the musical idiom 'has this ability to pinpoint, emphasise, repeat, divide, move quickly past, round off, pause, literally 'read' the text (but with dimensions of colour and rhythm that the spoken text rarely matches) and thus shape its meaning' (285); she also comments on the role of melody in 'balancing, linking, contrasting and separating of individual words and longer phrases' (286).

9 Dominicus Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral* (Leipzig, 1953), 429.

tradition by the people who composed, transmitted, revised, notated and heard the music. Rather than affective text setting or word painting, the use of unexpected or emphatic formulaic phrases, or of non-formulaic phrases, is the principal locus of interpretative text-music relations in the second-mode tracts and, through use of such phrases, the second-mode tracts function primarily as exegesis, promoting certain directions of inner meditation in both performers and listeners.

APPENDIX I

# SECOND-MODE TRACT TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, PARTS OF SPEECH AND MELODIC PHRASES

The translations given here are my own literal translations. Where these differ from the conventional interpretations of the texts, as reflected in a sample of English-language Bibles with a reputation for being more-or-less literal translations (The *King James Version* [*KJV*] the *New King James Version* [*NKJV*], the *New American Standard Bible* [*NASB*], the *New Revised Standard Bible* [*NRSV*], the *English Standard Version* [*ESV*] and the *New English Bible* [*NEB*]), I have provided the conventional interpretation in a note.

## The core-repertory second-mode tracts

### *Deus deus meus*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Deus | God[1] | simple sentence | vocative subject | **0b** | **0a** (open cadence) |
| deus meus respice in me | My God, look at me[2] | | full sentence | **2b4** | **2b4** |
| quare me | why me | simple sentence (question) | interrogative, object | phrase **3** material[3] | **3b** |
| dereliquisti | have you forsaken? | | verb and subject | **2b4–4c** | **4a** |
| 2. Longe | Far[4] | simple sentence (verb implied) | adverb | **1c** | **1a** (open cadence)[5] |

1 'My God' in all translations.
2 'look at me' is omitted from all translations.
3 See phrase **3a** in Appendix 4 for transcription.
4 Intensifier, translates as 'greatly, considerably'.
5 Closed in *Orp*.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a salute mea | from my salvation,[6] | | prepositional phrase | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| uerba | [are] the words | | subject | **3a** | **1a** opening – *GFEDFED* cadence |
| delictorum | of [my] faults[7] | | genitive (possessive) | **4c** | syllabic repetition |
| meorum | my[8] | | genitive (continued) | cont. | **4c** |
| 3. Deus meus | My God[9] | compound sentence clause 1 | vocative | **1e** | **1e** |
| clamabo per diem | I will cry out[10] through the day[11] | | verb, subject and prepositional phrase | ***2b1** | ***2a**[12] |
| nec exaudies | and[13] you will not hear[14] | clause 2 | complete clause | cont. | **2b4** |
| et nocte et non | and by night and [you do] not [hear] | clause 3; beginning of clause 4 | conjunction and subject; verb and preposition implied. Conjunction and negative; verb and subject implied | **3a** | **3a** |
| ad insipientiam michi | through my folly[15] | end of clause 4 | prepositional phrase | **4d–4c** | **4a** |

6 The translations have 'deliverance' (*NASB*), 'helping me' (*KJV*, *NRSV*, *NKJV*), saving me' (*ESV*, *NEB*).

7 'groaning' in *NKJV*, *NASB*, *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NEB*; 'roaring' in *KJV*.

8 Only *NASB* has a translation which parallels the literal sense here ('far from my deliverance are the words of my groaning'). The other translations divide this clause into two, having 'Why are you so far from helping me, and from the words of my groaning?', or similar.

9 Translated as 'O my God'.

10 Present tense 'I cry' in all translations; no 'out'.

11 'by day' (*NASB*, *ESV*, *NRSV*) or 'in the daytime' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NEB*).

12 See Phrase **2a2** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

13 'but' in all translations, although 'nec' literally translates as 'and not'.

14 'answer' in *NASB*, *NEB*, *ESV*, *NRSV*; 'hear' only in *KJV* and *NKJV*.

15 This sentence is not usually translated literally. The translations have 'and by night, but I find/have no rest' (*NRSV*, *ESV*, *NASB*); 'and in the night season, and am not silent' (*KJV*, *NKJV*); 'in the night I cry but get no respite' (*NEB*).

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Tu autem | You however | simple sentence | subject (two intensifiers; neither word strictly needed) | **1a** | **1a** (open cadence)[16] |
| in sancto habitas | live in the holy place | | verb and prepositional phrase | **2b1** | **2b1** |
| laus | the praise | | noun phrase: apposition | Phrase **Z** fragment | **1a** opening and cadence |
| israhel | of Israel[17] | | noun phrase: subject | **1a** melisma with *ED* cadence[18] | Phrase **Z** melisma with fedfed cadence |
| 5. In te sperauerunt | In you have trusted | simple sentence | verb and prepositional phrase | *syllaba* **W** | **1d** (open cadence) |
| patres nostri | our fathers | | subject | **2a1** | **2c** |
| sperauerunt | they have trusted | compound sentence | clause 1 | **3a** | **3a** |
| et liberasti eos | and you delivered them | | clause 2 | **4a** | **4c** |
| 6. Ad te clamauerunt | To you they cried | compound sentence | clause 1 (including prepositional phrase) | phrase **X** | **1d** (open cadence) |
| et salui facti sunt | and they were saved[19] | | clause 2 | **2b1** | **2b1** |
| in te sperauerunt | in you they trusted | compound sentence | clause 1 (including prepositional phrase) | **3a** | **3a** |
| et non sunt confusi | and they were not confounded.[20] | | clause 2 | **4b** | **4a** |

16 closed in *Orp*.

17 The translations have 'Yet/But you are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel' or similar, except *NEB* which has 'Yet thou art enthroned in holiness, thou art he whose praises Israel sings', which is much closer to being literal.

18 Schmidt, 'Untersuchungen' (1958), 20; see also *AOFGC*, 329.

19 The translations have 'and were saved' (*NRSV*, *NKJV*); 'and were delivered' (*KJV*, *NEB*, *NASB*); 'and were rescued' (*ESV*).

20 'put to shame' (*ESV*, *NEB*, *NRSV*), 'confounded' (*KJV*); 'disappointed' (*NASB*); 'ashamed' (*NKJV*).

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Ego autem | I however[21] | compound sentence clause 1 | subject (two intensifiers; neither word strictly needed) | **1a** | **1a** (open cadence) |
| sum uermis et non homo | am a worm and not a man | compound sentence clause 1 (cont) and clause 2 | verb and object. Conjunction, negative, object (implied verb 'sum') | **2d** | **2c** |
| obprobrium hominum | (I am) the scorn of men[22] | compound sentence | clause 1 (verb implied) | **3b** | **3b** |
| et abiectio plebis | and the refuse of[23] the people | | clause 2 (verb implied) | **4b** | **4a** |
| 8. Omnes | All[24] | sentence | subject | *syllaba* **W** | *syllaba* **W** |
| qui uidebant me | who saw me | | relative clause | **1g** | **1g** |
| aspernabantur me | mocked me | | predicate | **2d** | **2c** |
| locuti sunt labiis | they spoke with their lips[25] | compound sentence | clause 1 | **3a** | **3a**[26] |
| et mouerunt caput | and they shook[27] their heads[28] | | clause 2 | **4b** | **4a** |

21 'But I' in the translations.

22 'a reproach of men' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NASB*); 'scorned by mankind' (*ESV*); 'scorned by others' (*NRSV*); 'abused by all men' (*NEB*).

23 'despised by' in most translations; 'scorned by' in *NEB*.

24 All translations have this verse in present tense.

25 '(they) make mouths at me' (*ESV*, *NRSV*, *NEB*); 'they shoot out the lip' (*KJV*, *NKJV*); 'they separate with the lip' (*NASB*).

26 Although *Orc* and *Orj* treat 'lábiis' as having three syllables, they use phrase **3a** instead of the expected **3b**, dividing the *DC FGaG* figure usually associated with the penultimate syllable between the last two syllables. This suggests that treatment of the word as having three syllables is a scribal error, repeated in both manuscripts; if 'labiis' had usually been treated as a three-syllable word, phrase **3b** would have been used for the phrase.

27 'wag' in *ESV*, *NASB*, *NEB*.

28 'the head' in *KJV*, *NKJV*, *NASB*.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. Sperauit in domino | "He trusted in the Lord | sentence | main clause | *syllaba* V | *syllaba* W – 1d |
| eripiat eum | let him deliver him[29] | | jussive subjunctive | 2a2 | 2a2 |
| saluum faciat eum | let Him save[30] him | sentence | main clause | 3a | 3a |
| quoniam uult eum | since[31] He delights in him" | | subordinate clause | 4b | 4a |
| 10. Ipsi uero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me | For truly they examined and looked at me[32] | compound sentence | two clauses | *syllaba* W – *syllaba* W – 2b1 | *syllaba* W – 2b1 |
| diuiserunt sibi | divided[33] between them | compound sentence, clause 1 | subject and verb | 3a | 3a |
| uestimenta mea | my clothes[34] | | object | 4b opening – 4c cadence (as verse 1) | cont. |
| et super uestem meam miserunt sortem | and over[35] my clothes[36] cast lots | clause 2 | prepositional phrase, verb, object | 4d–4b | 4a |
| 11. Libera me | Free[37] me | compound sentence, clause 1 | clause | 1f | 1f |
| de ore leonis | from the lion's mouth | | prepositional phrase | *'2d | *2a[38] |
| et a cornibus unicornuorum | and from the unicorns'[39] horns | compound sentence, clause 2 (verb assumed) | conjunction, prepositional phrase | *'3a | *comma* X – 3[40] |
| humilitatem meam | [free] my lowliness[41] | | object | 4a | 4c |

29 'let him deliver him' (*ESV*, *NASB*); 'let him rescue him' (*NKJV*); 'that he would deliver him' (*KJV*); 'that he would deliver' (*NRSV*); 'he threw himself on the Lord for rescue' (*NEB*).

30 'rescue' (*ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*); 'deliver' (*NEB*, *KJV*, *NKJV*).

31 'for' (*ESV*, *NEB*); 'seeing' (*KJV*); 'because' (*NASB*).

32 Present tense for this whole verse in all translations; the verbs used are 'look and stare' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NASB*); 'stare and gloat' (*ESV*, *NRSV*); 'look on and gloat' (*NEB*).

33 'part' in *KJV*; 'share out' in *NEB*.

34 'garments' (*NEB*, *KJV*, *NKJV*, *ESV*, *NASB*); 'clothes' (*NRSV*).

35 'upon' in *KJV*; otherwise 'for' in the translations.

36 'clothing' (*NKJV*, *ESV*, *NASB*, *NRSV*); 'vesture (*KJV*); 'clothes' (*NEB*).

37 'save' in all translations.

38 See Phrase **2a1** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

39 Only translated literally in *KJV*; the other translations have 'wild oxen'.

40 See phrase **3** (undefined) in Appendix 4 for transcription.

41 'my poor body' in *NEB*; apart from *NEB* this clause is not translated literally, with 'you have rescued me from the horns of the wild oxen', or similar.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. Qui timetis dominum | You who fear the Lord | simple sentence | relative clause | **1d** | **1d** |
| laudate eum | praise him! | | imperative main clause | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| uniuersum semen Jacob | all the seed[42] of Jacob | simple sentence | subject | **3a** | **3a** |
| magnificate eum | magnify him![43] | | predicate (imperative) | **4a** | **4c** |
| 13. Annunciabitur domino | [The generation to come] will be announced to the Lord | compound sentence, clause 1 | predicate | **1d** | **1d** |
| generatio uentura | the generation to come | | subject | *syllaba* **W** – 2a1 | *2a[44] |
| et annunciabunt celi | and the heavens will announce | clause 2 | subject and verb | **3c** | **3a** |
| iustitiam eius | his justice | | object | **4c** | **4c** |
| 14. Populo | to the people | continued | prepositional phrase | *comma* **Y** | **1a** – phrase **Z** cadence |
| qui nascetur quem | who will be born, whom | | relative clause | *C–F* syllabic recitation[45] | **4a–f** |
| fecit dominus | the Lord has made.[46] | | cont. | **4f–e–f** | cont. |

42 'all you descendants' (*NASB*, *NKJV*); 'all you offspring' (*ESV*, *NRSV*); 'all ye the seed' (*KJV*); 'all you sons' (*NEB*).

43 'do him honour' in *EB*, otherwise 'glorify him' in the translations.

44 See Phrase **2a1** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

45 Closely related to the Old Roman recitation at this point: see Example 40 on p. 59 for transcription.

46 This final sentence in *NRSV* is: 'future generations will be told about the Lord, and proclaim his deliverance to a people yet unborn, saying that he has done it'. The other translations are less literal: 'They will come, and will declare/proclaim his righteousness to a people who will be born, that he has done/performed it/this' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *ESV*, *NASB*); 'this shall be told of the Lord to future generations; and they shall justify him, declaring to a people yet unborn that this was his doing' (*NEB*).

## *Domine audiui*

| TRACT TEXT[1] | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Domine audiui | Lord,[2] I have heard | compound sentence; clause 1 | vocative, verb, subject | **0a** + repetition | **0a** + repetition |
| auditum tuum | your voice[3] | | object | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| et timui: | and I was afraid | compound sentence; clause 2 | complete clause | **2b2** | **2b2** |
| consideraui | I have considered[4] | compound sentence | subject, verb | **3c** | **3a** |
| opera tua et expaui | your deeds[5] and was afraid[6] | | object plus complete clause | **4d** | **4a–f** |
| 2. In medio | Between | sentence with prepositional phrase | beginning of prepositional phrase | **1c** | **1a** (open) |
| duorum | two | | middle of prepositional phrase | retake of **1c** opening | *FE DE FE D* recitation[7] |
| animalium | living creatures | | end of prepositional phrase | **1g** | **2c** |
| innotesceris | you will be known | | main clause | unique[8] | **2c** |
| dum appropinquauerint anni | while the years approach[9] | sentence with relative clause | relative clause of time | unique[10] | **3a** |
| cognosceris | you will be known[11] | | main clause | **2b2** | **2b1** |
| dum aduenerit tempus | until the time comes | sentence with relative clause | relative clause of time | **3c** | **3a** |
| ostenderis | you will appear[12] | | main clause | **4e** | **4a–f** |

1 This text for Habakkuk 3 derives from the Septuagint, unlike most modern Bible translations. I have therefore translated it literally, and have included footnotes referencing the standard Septuagint translation: Sir Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint LXX: Greek and English* (London, 1851). See <http://www.ccel.org/bible/brenton/>.

2 'O Lord' in Brenton.

3 ' your report' in Brenton.

4 'I considered' in Brenton.

5 'works' in Brenton.

6 'amazed' in Brenton.

7 See phrase **2c** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

8 See Example 82 on p. 108 for transcription.

9 'draw nigh' in Brenton.

10 See Example 3 on p. 21 for a transcription.

11 'acknowledged' in Brenton.

12 'be manifested' in Brenton.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. In eo | At that point[13] | | does not contribute | unique[14] | **1a** (open) |
| dum conturbata | when [my soul] has been stirred up[15] | sentence with relative clause: 1. relative clause | half verb | **1g** (no cadence) | **1g** |
| fuerit | | | half verb | cont. | **2a2** |
| anima mea: | my soul: | | subject | **2a2** | cont. |
| in ira | in anger[16] | sentence with relative clause: 2. main clause | prepositional phrase | **3b** | **3a** |
| misericordiae | of mercy | | object | cont. | **4a–f** |
| memor eris | you will be mindful[17] | | subject, verb, adjective | **4f** | cont. |
| 4. Deus | God | compound sentence; clause 1 | subject | **1f** | **1f** |
| a libano ueniet: | will come from Lebanon:[18] | | predicate (intransitive verb and prepositional phrase) | **2b2** | ***2b1** |
| et sanctus de monte | and the holy one [will come] from the mountain[19] | compound sentence; clause 2 | subject, implied intransitive verb, prepositional phrase | **3c** | **3a** |
| umbroso et condenso | [that is] shady and misty[20] | | adjectives | **4f–4a–4f** | **4a–f** |
| 5. Operuit | [his glory] covered | compound sentence; clause 1 | verb | **1b** | **1b**[21] |
| caelos | the heavens | | object | unique[22] | **2a2** |
| maiestas eius: | his glory[23] | | subject | **2a2** | cont. |
| et laudis eius | and of his praise | compound sentence; clause 2 | object | **3c** | **3a** |
| plena est terra | the earth is[24] full | | adjective, verb, subject | **4f** | **4a–f** |

13 Not included in Brenton.
14 For a transcription, see Example 4 on p. 21.
15 'when my soul is troubled' in Brenton.
16 'in wrath' in Brenton.
17 'thou wilt remember mercy' in Brenton.
18 'shall come from Thaeman' in Brenton.
19 'Mount Pharan' in Brenton.
20 'dark, shady' in Brenton.
21 Open *EDF* cadence only in *Orp.*
22 See Example 83 on p. 111 for a transcription.
23 'his excellence' in Brenton.
24 'was' in Brenton.

## *Domine exaudi*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Domine exaudi | Lord[1] hear | compound sentence: clause 1 | vocative + imperative verb | **0a** + repetition | **0a** + repetition |
| orationem meam: | my prayer | | object | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| et clamor meus | and [let] my cry[2] | compound sentence: clause 2 | subject | 'exaudi' material, **3c** cadence | **3a** |
| ad te (per-)ueniat | come to you | | prepositional phrase + verb | **4e** | **4a–f** |
| 2. Ne auertas | Do not avert[3] | simple sentence | negative, verb +subject | **1c** | **1a** |
| faciem tuam a me | your face from me | | object + prepositional phrase | **2b2** | **2b2** |
| in quacumque die tribulor | on whatever day I am troubled[4] | simple sentence | prepositional phrase | **3b** (abbreviated cadence) | **3b** |
| inclina ad me aurem tuam | turn[5] your ear to me | | imperative verb, prepositional phrase, object | **4d–2b–4d** | **4a–f** |

1 'O Lord' in the translations.
2 'let…come' is my rendering of the subjunctive 'veniat'.
3 'hide' in the translations.
4 'on the day of my distress' (*NRSV*); 'in the day of my distress' (*ESV*, *NASB*); 'when I am in distress' (*NEB*); 'in the day of my trouble' (*NKJV*); 'in the day when I am in trouble' (*KJV*).
5 'incline' in the translations; 'listen to my prayer' in *NEB*.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. In quacumque | On whatever[6] | sentence: relative clause | relative clause (prepositional phrase) | **3a** (abbreviated cadence) | **1a** |
| die | day | | cont. | cont. | end of melisma repeated |
| inuocauero te | I shall have called you[7] | | relative clause | **2b2–2c'** | ***2b**[8] |
| uelociter | quickly[9] | sentence: main clause | adverb | phrase **3** material[10] | *comma* **Y** |
| exaudi me (domine) | hear me[11] (Lord). 'Lord' added to Old Roman version | | imperative main clause | unique[12] | **4a–f** |
| 4. Quia defecerunt | For consumed[13] have been[14] | compound subordinate clause: 1 | subordinating conjunction + verb | **1a** | **1a** (open)[15] |
| sicut fumus[16] | like smoke | | comparative clause | **1g** | **1g** |
| dies mei: | my days | | subject | **2c** | **2c** |
| et ossa mea | and my bones[17] | compound subordinate clause: 2 | subject | **3a** | **3a** |
| sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt | have been fried as if in a frying pan[18] | | verb + comparative clause | **4e–f** | **4a–f** |

6 'in/on the day when/that' in the translations.
7 No 'you' in the translations.
8 Transcribed with phrase **2b2**.
9 'speedily' in most translations, 'quickly' in *NASB* and 'soon' in *NEB*.
10 See phrase **3a** in Appendix 4 for a transcription.
11 'answer me' in the translations.
12 See Example 79 on p. 104 for a transcription.
13 Also 'pass away' (*NRSV*, *ESV*); 'vanish' (*NEB*).
14 This clause is present tense in the translations.
15 Closed in *Orp*.
16 'sicut' is a conjunction being used to introduce a comparative clause (which is an adverbial clause expressing likeness, agreement or the opposite of what is in the main sentence).
17 'body' in *NEB*.
18 This is literal, but the translations have 'burn like a furnace' (*ESV*, *NRSV*); 'have been scorched like a hearth' (*NASB*); 'are burned like/as a(n) hearth' (*KJV*, *NKJV*); 'is burnt up as in an oven' (*NEB*).

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Percussus sum | I was struck | compound sentence: clause 1 | complete clause | **1b** | **1b** (open) |
| sicut fenum | like the grass | | comparative clause | **1g** | **1g** |
| et aruit cor meum | and my heart was withered[19] | compound sentence: clause 2 | main clause | **2a2** | **2b4** |
| quia oblitus sum | for[20] I forgot[21] | subordinate clause | subordinating conjunction, verb | **3b** | **3b** |
| manducare panem meum | to eat my bread | | subordinate clause: infinitive + object | **4f–a–f** | **4a–f** |
| 6. Tu exurgens domine | You, rising Lord [22] | sentence: main clause | subject (including participle) | **1b** | **1b** |
| misereberis | will have mercy[23] | | verb | **1g** | ***2b**[24] |
| sion | on Sion | | object | **2c** | cont. |
| quia venit tempus | because[25] the time[26] is coming | sentence: subordinate clause | subordinating conjunction, verb and subject | **3c** | **3a** |
| quia tempus venit | ,, | | ,, | not included | **3a** |
| miserendi eius | to pity her [Sion].[27] | | gerund | **4f** | **4f** |

19 The noun is transposed in the translations: 'My heart is stricken' ('smitten' in *KJV*) 'and withered like grass' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NRSV*); 'My heart has been smitten like grass and has withered away' (*NASB*); 'My heart is struck down like grass and has withered' (*ESV*); 'I am stricken, withered like grass' (*NEB*).

20 'indeed' (*NASB*) or 'so that' (*KJV*, *NKJV*); or no equivalent (*NRSV*, *ESV*).

21 Present tense in all translations.

22 This is not treated as a participle in the translations, which have 'you will arise' ('you will rise up' in *NRSV*).

23 'compassion' *NRSV*, *NASB*; 'pity' *ESV*.

24 See phrase **2b2** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

25 'for' in the translations.

26 'the appointed time' or 'set time' in translations.

27 'to favour her' in most translations, 'be gracious to her' (*NASB*); 'pity her' (*NEB*).

## *Qui habitat*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Qui habitat | He who dwells | relative clause | relative clause (signalled by 'qui') | **0c** | 0a (open cadence) |
| in adiutorio | in the help[1] | | prepositional phrase | **2b2**, links back | **1d** |
| altissimi | of the highest | | superlative | cont. | **2b2** |
| in protectione | in the shelter[2] | main clause | beginning of prepositional phrase | **3a** (abbreviated cadence) | **3a** |
| dei celi commorabitur | of the Lord of heaven[3] shall dwell[4] | | end of prepositional phrase; subject, verb | **4b–2a1–2c–4**[5] | **4a–2c–4**[6] |
| 2. Dicet domino | He will say to the Lord[7] | | indirect speech introduced | **1d** | *syllaba* **W**, **1d** (open cadence) |
| susceptor meus es | you are my supporter | compound sentence: clause 1 | clause | **2a1** | **2b1** |
| et refugium meum deus meus | and my God is my refuge | compound sentence: clause 2 | clause | *comma* **X**; *DE* recitation; **3a** cadence[8] | *comma* **X**, *DE FE* recitation, **3** cadence[9] |
| sperabo in eum | I will put my hope in him[10] | main clause | sentence | **4c** | **4c** |

1 'shelter' in *NEB*, *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*; 'secret place' in *KJV*, *NKJV*.
2 'under/in the shadow' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*, *KJV*, *NKJV*, *NEB*.
3 'the Almighty' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*, *KJV*, *NKJV*, *NEB*.
4 'abide' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*, *KJV*, *NKJV*; 'lodge' in *NEB*.
5 See Example 70 on p. 89 for transcription.
6 See Example 69 on p. 88 for transcription.
7 'I will say to the Lord' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*; 'I will say of the Lord' in *KJV*, *NKJV*.
8 *Fle1* has the phrase **3c** cadence here. Both this and the usual phrase **3a** are included in the transcriptions in Appendix 4.
9 See Phrase **3** (undefined) in Appendix 4.
10 'My refuge and my fortress, My God, in whom I trust!' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*; "He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust' in *KJV*, *NKJV*; 'The Lord is my safe retreat, my God the fastness in which I trust' in *NEB*.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. Quoniam ipse | because he himself | subordinate (adverbial) clause | subject | **1a** | **1d** |
| liberauit me | has freed me | | predicate | **1g** | **1g** |
| de laqueo uenantium | from the snare of the hunters[11] | | first prepositional phrase | **2b2** | **2b2** |
| et a uerbo | and from the word | | second prepositional phrase (with conjunction) | *comma* **X** opening | *comma* **X** |
| aspero | rough[12] | | adjective | **4a** | **4a** |
| 4. Scapulis suis | With his shoulders | compound sentence: clause 1 | instrumental phrase | *syllaba* **V** | **1d** |
| obumbrabit tibi | he will shade you[13] | | predicate | **2a3** | **2b3** |
| et sub pennis eius | and under his wings | compound sentence: clause 2 | prepositional phrase | Phrase **3a** material – varied **4c** opening | **3a** |
| sperabis | you will hope[14] | | verb and subject | **4c** (conclusion) | **4a** |
| 5. Scuto circumdabit te | With a shield will surround you[15] | simple sentence | predicate | *syllaba* **W**, **1g** | *syllaba* **W**, **1g** |
| ueritas eius | his truth | | subject[16] | **2a2** | **2a2** |
| non timebis | you will not be afraid | main clause (begins a list) | negative, subject, verb | **3a** | **3a** |
| a timore nocturno | of[17] the nightly terror | item 1 | prepositional phrase | **4b** | **4b** |

11 The word 'uenantium' is a genitive present participle, literally meaning 'of hunting', but translations conventionally use 'of the fowler' (in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *KJV* and *NKJV*) or, more rarely, 'of the trapper' (in *NASB*).

12 This clause is not usually translated literally. Rather than 'the rough word', translations use 'the deadly pestilence' (*ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*), 'the noisome pestilence' (*KJV*) or the 'perilous pestilence' (*NKJV*); *NEB* instead has 'the raging tempest'.

13 Usually translated as 'He will cover you with his pinions/feathers' ('feathers' in *KJV* and *NKJV*).

14 While the *KJV* has 'you will trust', the other translations are less literal, having 'you will find refuge' or similar.

15 This sentence is not usually translated literally. 'his truth' ('faithfulness' in *NASB*, *ESV*, *NRSV*) 'will be your shield and your rampart/buckler/bulwark'.

16 The expressed subject here, 'his truth', following the verb, parallels the unexpressed 'he' in 'obumbrabit tibi' in the previous verse.

17 Here and in the following verse, 'a' literally translates as 'from', but 'of', found also in *NASB* and *NKJV* is more idiomatic; *ESV* and *NRSV* avoid the preposition by translating as 'you will not fear . . .'.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. A sagitta | of the arrow | item 2 | prepositional phrase | **1e** | **1e** |
| uolante per diem | that flies by day | | adjectival phrase | ***2a2** | ***2a**[18] |
| a negotio perambulante in tenebris | of the trouble[19] that walks about[20] in the dark | item 3 | prepositional phrase plus adjectival phrase | *comma* **Y, 4a** (no cadence), **2b2** | *comma* **Y, 4a** rise, **2b1** |
| a ruina et demonio meridiano | of ruin and the demon at midday[21] | item 4 | prepositional phrase plus adjective | *comma* **Y, 4a** (no cadence), **Z'** | *comma* **Y, 4a** |
| 7. Cadent | Will fall | compound sentence: clause 1 | verb | **Z** | **1f**[22] |
| a latere tuo mille | a thousand at your side | | prepositional phrase, subject | ***2c** | ***'2c** |
| et decem milia | and ten thousand | compound sentence: clause 2 | subject (verb implied) | **1a** | **1d** |
| a dextris tuis | at your right hand | | prepositional phrase | **2a1–3** | **2a1** |
| tibi autem | but you | compound sentence: clause 3 | object | **3a** | **3a** |
| non appropinquabit | it will not come near | | verb | **4b** | **4a** |
| 8. Quoniam angelis suis | Because his angels | subordinate (adverbial) clause, continuing sentence of v. 7 | object | *syllaba* **V** | **1d** |
| mandauit de te | he has commanded concerning you[23] | | verb plus prepositional phrase | **2a3** | **2b3** |

18 See phrase **2a2** in Appendix 4 for transcription.

19 'pestilence' in the translations.

20 'stalks' in *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*, *NEB*.

21 The translations instead have 'of the destruction' ('plague' in *NEB*) 'that wastes/lays waste at noon(day)'.

22 *Bob*2 has phrase **1f** also. It may reflect the influence of the Old Roman tradition, or may instead reflect a move towards a standard decorated phrase **1** (as seen also in the ninth-century second-mode tracts from northern Europe).

23 All but *NEB* use future tense here.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ut custodiant te | that they should protect[24] you | | indirect command | **3a** | **3a** |
| in omnibus uiis tuis | in all your ways | | prepositional phrase | **4a** | **4a** |
| 9. In manibus | In their hands | main clause | prepositional phrase | **1b** | **1b** |
| portabunt te | they will carry you[25] | | sentence | **1g** | **1g** |
| ne umquam offendas | that you may never hit[26] | subordinate (purpose) clause | subject, verb, negative signalling purpose clause | **2a2** | **2a2** |
| ad lapidem | on[27] a stone | | prepositional phrase | Phrase **3b** material – varied **4c** opening | *comma* **Y** |
| pedem tuum | your foot | | object | **4a** | **4a** |
| 10. Super aspidem | Upon[28] the snake | compound sentence: clause 1 | prepositional phrase | **1b** | **1b** (open cadence)[29] |
| et basiliscum | and the basilisk[30] | | … cont. | **1g** | **1g** |
| ambulabis | you will tread | | verb | **2c** | **2c** |
| et conculcabis | and you will trample[31] | compound sentence: clause 2 | conjunction plus verb | **3a** | **3a** |
| leonem | the lion[32] | | object | **4b'** | phrase **Z** |
| et draconem | and the serpent[33] | | object | phrase **Z** | phrase **Z** |

24 'keep' (*KJV*, *NKJV*) or 'guard' *ESV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*, *NEB*.
25 'they will bear you up' in the translations.
26 'strike' (*NEB*, *KJV*, *ESV*, *NRSV*) or 'dash' (*NKJ*, *NRSV*).
27 'against' in the translations.
28 'on' in *ESV* and *NRSV*.
29 closed in *Orp*.
30 All translations have the non-literal 'lion and adder/cobra' in this verse half, except *NEB* ('asp and cobra').
31 All translations have 'trample under foot' or 'trample down' (*NASB*).
32 All translations have the non-literal 'young lion' here, except *NEB* ('snake').
33 'dragon' only in *KJV*; all other translations have 'serpent'.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. Quoniam in me sperauit | Because he trusted in me[34] | compound sentence | subordinate clause | **1a** | **1d** (open cadence) |
| liberabo eum | I will free[35] him | | main clause | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| protegam eum | I will protect him[36] | compound sentence | main clause | **3a** | **3a** |
| quoniam cognouit nomen meum | because he has known[37] my name | | subordinate clause | **4a** | **4a** |
| 12. Inuocavit me | He[38] called on me[39] | compound sentence | clause 1 | **1b** | **1b** |
| et ego exaudiam eum | and I will hear[40] him | | clause 2 | ***2a2** | **2a2** |
| cum ipso sum | I am with him[41] | simple sentence | clause | **3a** | **3b** |
| in tribulatione | in troubles[42] | | prepositional phrase | **4a** | **4c** |
| 13. Eripiam eum | I will deliver[43] him | compound sentence | clause 1 | *comma* **X** | **2a2** |
| et glorificabo eum | and I will glorify[44] him | | clause 2 | **2a1** | **3a** |
| longitudinem | length | compound sentence: clause 1 | prepositional phrase . . . | *comma* **X** | **4a** opening |
| dierum | of days[45] | | prepositional phrase (cont.), object | *syllaba* **W** | **cont.** |
| adimplebo eum | I will fill[46] him with | | prepositional phrase (cont.), subject, verb | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| et ostendam illi | and will show him | compound sentence: clause 2 | verb, subject | **3c** | **3a** |
| salutare meum | my salvation | | object | **4f** | **4f** |

34 All translations replace 'hoped in me' with 'has loved me' or similar.
35 'deliver' in all translations.
36 Only in *ESV*; the other translations have 'I will set him beyond danger' (*NEB*) or 'I will set him (securely) on high' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*).
37 'knows' (*ESV*) or 'has known' (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*).
38 'They'; plural until the end of the Psalm in *NRSV*.
39 All translations have future (*KJV*, *NKJV*, *NRSV*, *NASB*) or present tense here (*ESV*, *NEB*).
40 'answer' in all translations.
41 Future tense in all translations.
42 Singular in all translations 'trouble'.
43 'rescue' in (*NRSV*, *NASB*, *NEB*, *ESV*).
44 'honour' in all translations.
45 'long life' rather than 'length of days' in all translations.
46 'satisfy' in all translations.

## The related gradual *De necessitatibus*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | ROMANO-FRANKISH PHRASE | OLD ROMAN PHRASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| R. (1) De necessitatibus meis | From my difficulties | simple sentence | prepositional phrase | Unique – phrase **Z** | Unique – phrase **Z** |
| eripe me domine | rescue me Lord | | imperative clause and vocative | decorated **2b2** | decorated **2b2** |
| uide | look | compound sentence clause 1 | imperative verb | **1g** | **1g** (open) |
| humilitatem meam | at my lowliness | | object | As chant opening then **2c'** | As chant opening, **3a** figure, **2c'** |
| et laborem meum | and my labour | clause 2 | implied verb, object | Unique – **2c'** | *comma* **X**, then 2 open cadences, then **2c'** |
| et dimitte | and remove | clause 3 | imperative verb | *C–D–F* recitation | *C–D–F* recitation |
| omnia peccata mea | all my sins | | object | **4d** | **4d–f** |
| 2. Ad te domine | To you Lord | simple sentence | prepositional phrase | *comma* * | **1d** (closed) |
| leuaui animam meam | I have lifted my soul | | complete clause | Low unique recitation | *D–F* recitation |
| deus meus | My God | simple sentence | vocative | ***2c'** | **2c** |
| in te confido | in you I trust | | verb and prepositional phrase | related to **1d** | **1d** (open) |
| non erubescam | Let me not be ashamed | compound sentence | clause 1 | **2c** | **2c** |
| neque irrideant me | nor let [my enemies] mock me | clause 2 | conjunction, predicate | **3c** | **3a** |
| inimici mei | my enemies | | subject | **4f** | **4f** |
| 3. Et enim | And truly | clause 3 | 2 conjunctions | *comma* **Y** | **1a** (open) |
| uniuersi | all | | subject | **Z** | **2c** |
| qui te expectant | who look for you | | relative clause | Related to **1d** | **1d** (open) |
| non confundentur | will not be confounded | | future verb and negative | **2c** | **2c** |
| confundantur iniqui/omnes[1] | let the iniquitous be confounded | simple sentence | subjunctive verb, subject, appositional phrase | **3c** | **3a** |
| facientes uana | doing vain things | | | **4f** | **4f** |

1 The Romano-Frankish tradition has 'omnes'; the Old Roman tradition has 'iniqui': see *AOFGC*, 317–18.

## The early-ninth century Frankish tract *Eripe me*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | PHRASE SHAPE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Eripe me domine | Rescue me Lord | simple sentence | main clause | **0b** |
| ab homine malo | from the evil man | | prepositional phrase | **2b4** |
| a uiro iniquo | from the unjust man | simple sentence: main clause | prepositional phrase | **3a** |
| libera me | free me | | clause | As *Deus deus meus* verse 1 |
| 2. Qui cogitauerunt | those who have planned | simple sentence: subordinate clause | verb, subject | **1c** |
| malitias in corde | evils in their heart | | object, prepositional phrase | **2a1** |
| tota die | all day | simple sentence | temporal marker | **3a** |
| constituebant proelia | they were preparing for war | | verb, object | **4c** |
| 3. Acuerunt | They sharpened | simple sentence | verb | **1e** |
| linguas suas sicut serpentes | their tongues like serpents | | object, prepositional phrase | ***2b2** |
| uenenum aspidum | venom of asps | simple sentence | subject | **3b** |
| sub labiis eorum | [is] on their lips | | prepositional phrase | **4a'** |
| 4. Custodi me domine | Keep me, Lord | compound sentence: clause 1 | main clause | **1b 1g** |
| de manu peccatoris | from the hands of the wicked | | prepositional phrase | **2b2** |
| et ab hominibus iniquis[1] | and from unjust men | compound sentence: clause 2 | conjunction, prepositional phrase | **3a** |
| libera me | free me | | clause | *CD CF* – **4a** |

1 'iniquos' corrected to 'iniquis' in *Gal1*.

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | PHRASE SHAPE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Qui cogitauerunt subplantare | Those who have plotted to trip up | relative clause | subject, verb | **1a 1g** |
| gressus meos | my steps | | object | **2d** |
| absconderunt superbi | the proud have hidden | compound sentence: clause 1 | subject, verb | **3a** |
| laqueos/laqueum mihi | a snare for me | | object | **4f–4b** |
| 6. Et funes | And ropes | compound sentence: clause 2 | conjunction, object | **Z** |
| extenderunt in laqueum pedibus meis | they have stretched out as a snare for my feet | | verb, prepositional phrase, prepositional phrase | ***2a3** |
| iuxta iter scandalum | Near the road a stumbling block | simple sentence | prepositional phrase, object | **3b** |
| posuerunt michi | they have placed for me | | verb, [subject], dative | **4b** |
| 7. Dixi domino | I said to the Lord | sentence | introduction to direct speech | **1d** |
| deus meus es tu | 'You are my God | | main clause | **2a1** |
| exaudi domine | hear, Lord | sentence | vocative | **3b** |
| uocem orationis meae | the voice of my prayer | | object | **4b–4a** |
| 8. Domine domine | Lord, Lord | sentence | vocative | **1d** |
| uirtus salutis meae | the strength of my salvation | | subject | **2a1** |
| obumbra caput meum | shield my head | | imperative main clause | **3a** |
| in die belli | on the day of battle | | prepositional phrase | **4f–4b** |
| 9. Ne tradas me | Do not deliver me | sentence | clause | **1f** |
| a desiderio meo peccatori | to a sinner, against my desire | | prepositional phrase, locative | ***2d** |
| cogitauerunt aduersum me ne derelinquas me | They have plotted against me. Do not forsake me | simple sentence; main clause | simple sentence and main clause of following sentence | **3a** |
| ne umquam exaltentur | that they should never triumph | | subordinate (purpose) clause | **4a–b** |

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | PHRASE SHAPE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. Caput | The leader | | subject | **Z** |
| circuitus eorum | of those surrounding [me] | | cont. (genitive) | **2a1** |
| labor labiorum ipsorum | the work of their lips | simple sentence | subject | **3a** |
| operiet eos | shall conceal them | | predicate | **4b** |
| 11. Verumtamen iusti | Nevertheless the just | compound sentence: clause 1 | conjunction, subject | **1d** |
| confitebuntur nomini tuo | will acknowledge your name | | predicate | **2a1** |
| et habitabunt recti | and the upright will live | compound sentence: clause 2 | conjunction, verb, subject | **3c** |
| cum vultu tuo | within your sight | | prepositional phrase | **4f** |

## Frankish tracts composed by *c.* 900

### *Audi filia*

| TRACT TEXT | TRANSLATION | TEXT ORIGIN | PARTS OF SPEECH | | MELODY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Audi filia et uide | Listen daughter and see | Ps. 44: $11_1$ | compound sentence clauses 1 and 2 | imperative and vocative; conjunction and imperative | **0b** |
| et inclina aurem tuam | and incline your ear | | compound sentence clause 3 | main clause | **2b4** |
| quoniam[1] concupiuit rex | because the king has desired | Ps. 44: $12_1$ | | subordinate clause: verb and subject | **3a** |
| speciem tuam | your beauty | | | object | As *Deus deus meus* verse 1 |
| 2. Vultum tuum | [The rich people will all entreat] your face | Ps. 44: $13_2$ | simple sentence | object | *comma* **W** |
| deprecabuntur omnes | will all entreat | | | verb, intensifier | **2a1** |
| diuites plebis | the rich people; | | | subject | **2b2–2a** |
| filiae regum | the daughters of kings | Ps. 44: $10_1$ | fragment [verb assumed but not sure which; this is a complete clause in the psalm] | subject | **3a** |
| in honore tuo | in your honour | | | prepositional phrase | As *Deus deus meus* verse 1 |
| 3. Adducentur | [Maidens] will be led | Ps. 44: $15_2$ | simple sentence | verb | **1e** |
| regi uirgines post eam | to the king maidens after her | | | locative, subject, prepositional phrase | ***2a1** |
| proxime eius | those closest to her | | | adjectival phrase | **3a** |
| offerentur tibi | will be offered to you | | simple sentence | object, verb | As *Deus deus meus* verse 1 |

1 'quia' in *Lei*.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Adducentur in laetitia et exultatione | They will be led in joy and exultation | Ps. 44: 16 | simple sentence | main clause, prepositional phrase<br>conjug, more prepositional phrase | **1d**<br>**2a1** |
| adducentur | They will be led | | simple sentence | main clause | **3c** |
| in templum[2] Regis | into the King's temple | | | prepositional phrase | **4f** |

2 'templo' in *Lei*; it is a common variant.

## *Confitemini*

| TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | *Lan* | *Fle1* AND *Cha1* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Confitemini domino | Confess to the Lord | imperative main clause | | **0b** | **0b** |
| quoniam bonus | because [he is] good | subordinate clause | subordinating conjunction, clause ['verb 'to be' assumed] | **2b4** | **2b4** |
| quoniam in saeculum | because for ever | | repetition of conjunction, prepositional phrase | **3b** | **3b** |
| misericordia eius | [is] his mercy | | subject, verb implied | **4c** | **4a** |
| 2. Quis loquetur | Who will utter | simple sentence | interrogative pronoun (= subject); verb | **1c** | **1c** |
| potentias domini[1] | the Lord's power? | | object | **2b2 – 2a1** | **2b2 – 2a** (*Fle1*); **2b2 – 2b** (*Cha1*) |
| auditas faciet | [who will] make audible | simple sentence | Quis implied; verb phrase | **3b** | **3b** |
| omnes laudes eius | all his praise? | | object | **4f–a** | **4a** |
| 3. Beati | Happy are those | main clause | nominative subject, verb implied ('sunt') | **Z** | **Z** |
| qui custodiunt iudicium | who keep the judgement | relative clause 1 | pronoun, verb, object | ***2d** | ***2d** |
| et faciunt iusticiam | and enact justice | relative clause 2 | 'qui' implied, clause | **3a** | **3b** |
| in omni tempore | at all times | | prepositional phrase | as *Deus deus meus* verse 1 | **4c** |
| 4. Memento nostri domine in beneplacito populi tui | Remember our God, in the favour of your people | simple sentence | imperative verb vocative, prepositional phrase | **1f** ***2a1** | **1f** ***2d–2a1** |
| uisita nos | look upon us | simple sentence | main clause | **3c** | **3c** (**3a** in *Fle1*) |
| in salutari tuo | with your salvation | | prepositional phrase | **4f** | **4f** |

1 *Lan* has a scribal error: 'domin-' instead of 'domini', but it has not affected the melody.

## *Diffusa est gratia (four-verse form)*

| TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | *Fle1* | *Lei* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Diffusa est gratia | Grace is poured | sentence | main clause | Phrase **0b** | Phrase **0b** |
| in labiis tuis | on your lips | | prepositional phrase | unique opening – **2a** cadence | **2b4** |
| propterea | therefore God | | subordinate clause: conjunction, clause | **3a** | **3a** |
| benedixit te deus | has blessed you | | | | |
| in aeternum | for ever | | prepositional phrase | as *Deus deus meus* v. 1 | as *Deus deus meus* v. 1 |
| 2. Specie tua | with your fine appearance | sentence | ablative #1 | repeated *F* recitation, then end of **1a** melisma | **1c** |
| et pulchritudine tua | and with your beauty | | ablative #2 | **2a1** | **2a1** |
| intende prospere | triumphantly stretch out | | imperative clause | **3b** | **3b** |
| procede et regna | advance and reign | compound sentence | imperative clauses 1 and 2 | **4b** | **4c** |
| 3. Propter | because of | clause 2: prepositional phrase | preposition | phrase **Z** | phrase **Z** (cadence lost in fold of manuscript) |
| ueritatem et mansuetudinem et iusticiam | truth and gentleness and justice | | nouns | ***2a1** | ***2a1** |
| et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua | and your right hand will marvellously lead you | clause 3 | | *comma* **X**, *DE* recitation, **4a** (no cadence) phrase **Z** | *comma* **X**, *DE* recitation, **4a** (no cadence) phrase **Z** |
| 4. Audi filia | Listen daughter | compound sentence clause 1 | vocative | **1f** | **1f** |
| et uide et inclina aurem tuam | and see and incline your ear | compound sentence clauses 2 and 3 (main clause) | vocative then a main clause | ***2a3** | ***2d** |
| quia concupiuit rex | because the king has desired | | subordinate clause: verb and subject | **3c** | **3c** |
| speciem tuum | your beauty | | object | **4f** | **4f** |

## *Tu es Petrus*

| TEXT | TRANSLATION | PARTS OF SPEECH | | *Fle1* | MELODY IN *Kor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [1] Tu es petrus | You are Peter | clause 1 | complete clause | **0b** opening – phrase **2** cadence | **0b** |
| et super hanc petram | and on this rock | clause 2 | conjunction, prepositional phrase | **3–2b** | **2b4** |
| aedificabo | I will build | | verb | **3a** | **Z** |
| ecclesiam meam | my church | | object | **4b** | cont. |
| [2] Et porte | and the gates | clause 3 | conjunction, subject | **1c** | **1c** |
| inferi non preualebunt | of hell will not prevail | | genitive, negative, verb | **2d** | **2a1** |
| aduersus eam | against it | | prepositional phrase | **3a** | cont. |
| et tibi dabo claues | and to you I will give the keys | clause 4 | conjunction, main clause | **4a** | **2b2** |
| regni celorum | of the kingdom of the heavens | | genitives | cont. | **4b** |
| [3] Et quod cumque | and whatsoever | clause 5: adjectival clause | conjunction, object | **1a** | **Z** |
| ligaueris super terram | you bind on earth | | verb, prepositional phrase | **2d** | ***2d** |
| erit ligatum | will be bound | main clause | verb phrase | **3a** | **3c** |
| et in celis | also in the heavens | | prepositional phrase | **4b** | As *Deus deus meus* v. 1 |
| [4] Et quod cumque | and whatsoever | clause 6: adjectival clause | conjunction, object | **1f** | **1f** |
| solueris super terram | you set free on earth | | verb, prepositional phrase | ***2d** | **2b2–2a** |
| erit solutum | will be set free | main clause | verb phrase | **3c** | **3c** |
| et in celis | also in the heavens | | prepositional phrase | **4f** | **4f** |

APPENDIX 2

# MASS PROPER MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN THIS STUDY, AND THE REPERTORY OF SECOND-MODE TRACTS FOUND IN THE SAMPLE OF EARLY MANUSCRIPTS

Sigla, provenance and dating are derived from the catalogue in Pfisterer's *Cantilena Romana* unless otherwise indicated (*CR*, 306–13).

## The sample of early manuscripts

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ALBI, Bibliothèque municipale Rochegude, MS 44**[1] | | | | |
| *Aki5* | Gradual | Aquitaine | 9th/10th c. | intermittent Aquitanian neumes[2] |
| **CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 47**[3] | | | | |
| *Cha1*[4] | Gradual | Brittany | 9th–10th c.[5] | Breton neumes |

1 A text edition is published in John Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*, ed. Lila Collamore (Ottawa, 2002). A colour facsimile is available online at <http://www.manuscrits.mediatheque-albi.fr/>

2 'Circumdabit' in Qui habitat is notated, and melisma gaps are shown on 'lon––gitu––dinem' in the same chant, and in the gradual *De necessitatibus* on the first 'me––is', on 'Et––enim univer––si' and 'va––na'. Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque municipale*, 26, 28. There are also melisma gaps on 'Ca––dent' and 'leo––nem' in *Qui habitat* and 'in fri––xorio' in *Domine exaudi*, visible in the online facsimile.

3 Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 407, a ninth-century Gradual fragment from Brittany, presents the chants only for the fifth week of Lent and for the Easter Octave. The order of the pieces is identical and the writing and the notation are very similar to that of *Cha1*; according to Huglo, it is certainly from the same scriptorium: see Michel Huglo, 'Le domaine de la notation bretonne', *Acta Musicologica* 35 (1963), 54–84: 66.

4 Facsimile edition in PM 11: *Antiphonale missarum Sancti Gregorii, X^e siécle: Codex 47 de la Bibliothèque de Chartres* (Solesmes, 1912).

5 David Hiley, 'Sources, II, Plainchant', *New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 17436**[6] | | | | |
| *Coc6* | Gradual | Abbey of St Medard, Soissons, later at St Corneille, Compiègne[7] | 860–80[8] | None |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12050**[9] | | | | |
| *Cor2* | Gradual | Corbie | 850s;[10] *c.* 853[11] | None |
| **TRIER, Dombibliothek, MS 433 (142); CLEVELAND, Museum of Art Illumination 33, 446; BERLIN, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, MS 1400**[12] | | | | |
| *Cor3* | Cantatorium | North-East Francia (perhaps written at Corbie) | 9th c. | None |
| **LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 118** | | | | |
| *Den5*[13] | Gradual | Mixed Laon and St Denis use | Second half of 9th c. (the necrology dates from just before 867) | None |
| **VATICAN, MS Ottob. Lat. 313**[14] | | | | |
| *Den6* | Gregorian Sacramentary with marginal chant incipits | Paris? (Pfisterer); Northern France – at Paris Cathedral by 849–51;[15] provenance usually given as Saint Denis | 9th c.; first half of 9th c.[16] | None |
| **PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 111**[17] | | | | |
| *Den7* | Gradual | written at Saint-Denis for Senlis cathedral | 877–882[18] | None |

6 Edited in *AMS*.
7 *WP*, 298.
8 Hiley, 'Sources, II, Plainchant'.
9 Edited in *AMS*.
10 *WP*, 298.
11 Peter Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*: A Preliminary Checklist of MSS Copied before about 900 AD', *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 316–21: 319.
12 Described and reproduced in Petrus Siffrin, 'Ein Schwesterhandschrift des Graduale von Monza', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 64 (1950), 53–80.
13 Not included in Pfisterer's catalogue. Details from Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis* (Oxford, 1991), 359–66.
14 Text edition in H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, Henry Bradshaw Society 49 (London, 1915).
15 Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*', 320.
16 Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary*.
17 Edited in *AMS*.
18 *WP*, 298.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Private collection ('MS du Mont-Renaud').**[19] | | | | |
| *Eli* | Gradual | text probably written at Corbie; used at St Eloi, Noyon | text is mid-10th c. | French neumes added late-10th or early-11th c.[20] |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 579**[21] | | | | |
| *Ext2* | Sacramentary with marginal chant incipits (the 'Leofric Missal') | England (in England by 930s); may have spent much of 10th century at Canterbury; at Exeter Cathedral in eleventh century | 9th–10th c. with later additions | some chant incipits notated with neumes |
| **ANGERS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 91** | | | | |
| *Fle1* | Gradual | Brittany | 10th c. | Breton neumes |
| **ST GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 359**[22] | | | | |
| *Gal1* | Cantatorium | St Gall | Very early 10th c., before 920[23] | Saint Gall neumes |
| **WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 510 Helmst** | | | | |
| *Kor*[24] | Gradual | Korvey | *c.* 900 | Palaeo-Frankish |
| **LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 239**[25] | | | | |
| *Lan* | Gradual | Laon region | Early 10th c.[26] | Messine neumes |
| **LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 266**[27] | | | | |
| *Laon266*[28] | Cantatorium bifolia | Laon | 9th c. (late, according to Bischoff) | Messine neumes |

19 Facsimile edition in PM 16: *Le manuscrit de Mont-Renaud, X^e siècle: graduel et antiphonaire de Noyon* (Solesmes, 1955).

20 Hiley, 'Sources, II, Plainchant'.

21 For a facsimile, see <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl579>.

22 Facsimile edition in PM Series II, volume 2: *Cantatorium, IX^e siècle: N^o 359 de la Bibliothéque de Saint-Gall* (Solesmes, 1924).

23 Hiley, 'Sources, II, Plainchant'.

24 Not included in Pfisterer's catalogue. Details derived from Arlt, 'XI.36 Fragmente eines Graduale mit "paläofränkischen" Neumen'. The relevant folios are reproduced in Appendix 3.

25 Facsimile edition in PM 10: *Antiphonale missarum Sancti Gregorii, IX^e–X^e siécle: Codex 239 de la Bibliothèque de Laon* (Solesmes, 1909).

26 Hiley, 'Sources, II, Plainchant'.

27 Facsimile edition in Jacques Hourlier, 'Trois fragments de Laon', *Études grégoriennes* 22 (1988), 31–43, and in Jeffery, 'An Early Cantatorium Fragment', 245–53. Hourlier also discusses Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 121, a ninth-century Gradual bifolium from the Laon region, containing the end of *Qui habitat* and the related gradual *De necessitatibus*. Few of the neumes are legible on the photograph reproduced in Hourlier, 'Trois Fragments de Laon', although the neumes one can read are consistent with, although not identical to, the neumes of *Lan*, with many fewer significative letters. This source therefore adds little to the data.

28 Not included in Pfisterer's catalogue. Details are derived from Jeffery, 'An Early Cantatorium Fragment'.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LEIPZIG, University Library, MS 169** (formerly known as Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, MS Rep.I.93) | | | | |
| *Lei*[29] | List of tracts within a theoretical manuscript | Near Trier? (Chartier); Trier or Prüm? (Jammers) | *c.* 950 (Chartier)[30] | Messine neumes from Mosel area with Irish influence (Chartier) |
| **BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10127–10144**[31] | | | | |
| *Leo3* | Gradual | Provenance unknown (Pfisterer), Abbey of St Peter on Mont-Blandin, Ghent;[32] a continental Anglo-Saxon centre[33] | late 8th or early 9th c, (Pfisterer/ Jeffery); late 8th c.[34] | None |
| **MONZA, Basilica s. Giovanni, MS CIX**[35] | | | | |
| *Mon6* | Cantatorium; contains only soloists' chants | N-E Francia | 9th c.[36] | None |
| **REIMS, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 213 (E. 320)** | | | | |
| *Noy3* | Sacramentary with marginal Mass Proper chant incipits | Noyon (later at St Thierry, Reims)[37] | 9th c. | None |
| **COLOGNY-GENÈVE, private collection (Martin Bodmer MS 74)**[38] | | | | |
| *Orc* | Gradual | St Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome | 1071 | Roman neumes on staves |
| **VATICAN, MS Lat. 5319**[39] | | | | |
| *Orj* | Gradual | St John in the Lateran; Schola Cantorum of Rome | 11th–12th c. | Roman neumes on staves |

29 Not included in Pfisterer's catalogue. Details from Yves Chartier, 'Regino of Prüm', *New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, and Ewald Jammers, *Tafeln zur Neumenschrift* (Tutzing, 1965), 11. A fuller description of the manuscript appears in Ewald Jammers, 'Studien zu Neumenschriften, Neumenhandschriften und neumierter Musik', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 2 (1965), 85–161: 142ff. The relevant folios are reproduced in Appendix 3.

30 Jammers's dating to *c.* 900 has been superseded.

31 Edited in *AMS*.

32 *WP*, 298.

33 Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*', 319.

34 *WP*, 298.

35 Edited in *AMS*.

36 Bischoff dates it to the second third of the ninth century. Hiley dates it in *WP* (298) to the second half of the ninth century, and Pfisterer dates it in *CR* (93) to the mid-ninth century. Hesbert's eighth-century dating can therefore now be discounted.

37 Information derived from *Le Graduel Romain, II: Les Sources* (Solesmes, 1957), as digested at <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/>.

38 Facsimile edition in Max Lütolf, *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Cod. Bodmer 74)*, 2 vols (Cologny-Genève, 1987). Colour facsimile at <http://www.e-codices.ch/bibliotheken/cb/cb_de.htm>

39 Edited in Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki and Bruno Stäblein, 'Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale', *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* 2 (Kassel, 1970).

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **ROME, San Pietro, MS F22** | | | | |
| *Orp* | Gradual | St Peter's in the Vatican | 13th c. | Roman neumes on staves |
| **ZURICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rheinau 30**[40] | | | | |
| *Rei5* | Gradual, without solo portions of chants | Switzerland (Pfisterer); Southern Germany or Switzerland;[41] Nivelles[42] | 8th–9th c. (Pfisterer); 790s;[43] just before 800[44] | None |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 2291**[45] | | | | |
| *Sam2* | Gradual table (fols. 9–15) within a sacramentary | copied at St Amand; adapted to the use of St Germain des Pres[46] | 9th c. (Pfisterer); late 9th c.;[47] *c.* 875–6[48] | Some incipits have Palaeo-Frankish notation; not noted in Pfisterer |

40 Edited in *AMS*.
41 Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*', 319.
42 *WP*, 298.
43 *WP*, 298.
44 Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*', 319.
45 Text partially edited in Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France*.
46 Robertson, *The Service Books*, 434–5.
47 Jeffery, 'The Oldest Sources of the *Graduale*', 320.
48 Robertson, *The Service Books*, 434–5.

# Distribution of second-mode tracts and *De necessitatibus* in the early manuscripts

| SIGLUM | *Ad te domine* | *Audi filia* | *Beatus uir*[1] | *Confitemini* | *De necessitatibus* | *Deus deus meus* | *Diffusa est gratia* | *Dignare* | *Dixit dominus* | *Domine audiui* | *Domine exaudi* | *Domine non* | *Eripe me* | *Gaude maria* | *Posuerunt* | *Qui habitat* | *Tu es Petrus* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aki5* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ×[2] | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Cha1* | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Coc6* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Cor2*[3] | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Cor3* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | ✓[4] | × |
| *Den5* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ×[5] | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Den6* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ×[6] | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Den7*[3] | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Eli*[7] | × | × | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Ext2*[8] | × | × | × | ×[9] | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓[10] | ✓ | × | ✓ | ✓[11] | × | ✓[11] | × |
| *Fle1* | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓? | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| *Gal1* | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Kor* | × | ✓ | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | ✓ |
| *Lan* | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Laon 266* | × | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | × | × |
| *Lei* | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × |
| *Leo3*[3] | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Mon6* | × | × | × | × | ✓[12] | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Noy3* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Orc* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Orj* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Orp* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Rei5*[3] | × | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | × | × | ✓ | × |
| *Sam2* | × | × | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | ✓ | × | ✓ | × | × | ✓ | × |

1 This is usually an eighth-mode tract, but occasionally appears in a second-mode version.

2 The beginning of Palm Sunday, presumably including *Deus deus meus*, was on the central bifolium of Gathering 4, which is now lost (see Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque municipale*, 43).

3 Incipits only.

4 End only.

5 The folios of the Gradual are very disordered in the binding. It has not been possible to identify folios pertaining to Good Friday: they might be lacunary, or have been missed in searches of the microfiche.

6 No chants are given for Good Friday.

7 *Deus deus meus*, *Domine audiui*, *Domine exaudi* and *Eripe me* are missing in a lacuna.

8 Short incipits for each verse.

9 The Mass Propers for the *Dominica vacat* in Lent are added to fol. 85r in a much later hand, including a text incipit for *Confitemini*; the Annunciation Mass Propers, including a text incipit for *Aue maria*, are similarly later than the main part of the manuscript.

10 This chant incipit and that for *Eripe me* appear in the main body of the text rather than the margin.

11 With neumes.

12 Incipit only.

## Later manuscripts referred to in this study

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **SALAMANCA, Bibl. universitaria, MS 2637** | | | | |
| *Aki2* | Missal | Castille | 12th c. | Aquitanian on drypoint lines |
| **LANGRES, Grand Seminary, MS 312** | | | | |
| *Aki3* | Missal | Aquitaine | 13th c. | Aquitanian neumes on a line |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS n. a. lat. 1177** | | | | |
| *Aki4* | Cantatorium/ Troper | Aquitaine | 11th c. | Aquitanian on drypoint lines |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 776** | | | | |
| *Alb* | Gradual | Saint Michel in Gaillac | 11th c. | Aquitanian neumes on drypoint lines |
| **MILAN, Biblioteca ambrosiana MS L 77 sup.** | | | | |
| *All1* | Missal | North Italy | 10th c. | north Italian neumes |
| **BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek, MS lit. 6** | | | | |
| *Bab1* | Gradual | Regensburg | 10th–11th c. | German neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1105** | | | | |
| *Bec*[1] | Missal | Bec | 2nd half of 13th c. | Square notation on four lines. |
| **BENEVENTO, Biblioteca capitolare, MS VI.34** | | | | |
| *Ben5* | Gradual | Benevento | 11th–12th c. | Beneventan neumes on lines |
| **BESANÇON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 79** | | | | |
| *Bis2* | Gradual | Besançon | 11th c. | German neumes |
| **TURIN, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS G. V. 20** | | | | |
| *Bob2* | Gradual | Bobbio | 11th c. | German neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 366** | | | | |
| *Bre* | Gradual | Brescia | 11th c. | North Italian neumes |
| **DURHAM, Cathedral Library, MS Cosin V.V.6** | | | | |
| *Cant2*[2] | Gradual | Christ Church, Canterbury and Durham | *c.* 1080 | Anglo-norman point neumes |

1 See <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/> (digest of *Le graduel romain, II: Les sources*).

2 Details taken from Emma Hornby, 'The Transmission History of the Proper Chant for St Gregory: The Eighth-Mode Tract *Beatus uir*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12 (2003), 97–127: 126.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CHARTRES, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 520** (facsimile survives; manuscript destroyed in 1944) | | | | |
| *Cha3* | Missal | Chartres Cathedral | 13th c. | French neumes on lines |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 1087** | | | | |
| *Clu1* | Gradual | Cluny | 11th c. | French neumes |
| **VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 186** | | | | |
| *Com2* | Gradual | Balerna (Como diocese) | 11th–12th c. | Lotharingian neumes |
| **LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 3759** | | | | |
| *Crow*[3] | Gradual | Crowland Abbey, Lincs. | 13th c. | Square notation |
| **PARIS, Bibliothèque mazarine, MS384** | | | | |
| *Den1* | Gradual | Saint Denis | 11th c. | French neumes |
| **MONTPELLIER, Faculté de médecine, MS H.159** | | | | |
| *Dij1* | Mass Tonary | Saint Bénigne, Dijon | *c.* 1000–1025 | French neumes with alphabetic pitch notation |
| **BRUSSELS, Bibl. Royale, MS II 3824** | | | | |
| *Dij2* | Gradual | Saint Bénigne, Dijon | 13th c. | Square notation |
| **SAINT GALL, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 339** | | | | |
| *Gal2* | Gradual | Saint Gall | early 11th c. | German neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 892** | | | | |
| *Iri* | Gradual | Ireland | 12th c. | Anglo-Norman point neumes on lines |
| **VATICAN, MS Rossi 231** | | | | |
| *Itn1* | Gradual | Venice diocese? | 12th c. | North Italian notation on *F* and *C* lines. |
| **IVREA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 60** | | | | |
| *Ivr1* | Gradual | Pavia | 11th c. | Italian/Breton notation |
| **GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807** | | | | |
| *Klo1* | Gradual | Passau (previously thought to be Klosterneuburg)[4] | 12th c. | Lotharingian notation on lines |
| **ROME, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 123** | | | | |
| *Lav* | Gradual | Bologna? | 11th c. | central Italian neumes (Bologna) |

3 Details taken from Hornby, 'The Transmission History', 126.

4 Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Zu Herkunft und Datierung der Gradualien Graz 807 und Wien 13314', *Studia musicologica* 31 (1989), 57–80.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **LUCCA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 606** | | | | |
| *Luc1* | Missal | S. Salvatore, Lucca | 11th c. | Central Italian neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, lat 1132** | | | | |
| *Mal1* | Gradual | St Martial, Limoges | 11th to 12th c. | Aquitanian heighted neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, lat 1121** | | | | |
| *Mal3* | Troper | St Martial, Limoges | 11th c.[5] | Aquitanian heighted neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 909** | | | | |
| *Mal4*[6] | Troper | St Martial, Limoges | early 11th c. | Aquitanian heighted neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 340** | | | | |
| *Mog4*[7] | Gradual | Saint-Gall in Moggio | *c.* 1216 | German neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 12584** | | | | |
| *Mor4* | Gradual | St Maur des Fossés | 11th c. | French neumes |
| **EINSIEDELN, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 121** | | | | |
| *Mur3* | Gradual | Einsiedeln[8] | 10th c. | Saint Gall neumes |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS 780** | | | | |
| *Nar* | Gradual | Narbonne | 11th or 12th c. | Aquitanian on drypoint lines |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222** | | | | |
| *Nov2*[9] | Troper | Novalese | 11th c. | Novalese neumes |
| **LONDON, BL, MS Egerton 857** | | | | |
| *Noy1* | Gradual | Noyon | 11th – 12th c. | Lotharingian neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 354** | | | | |
| *Pas2*[10] | Gradual? | Saint Paul in Carinthia (diocese of Salzburg) | 12th c. | German neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 342** | | | | |
| *Rag*[11] | Missal | Ragusa | 13th c. | Beneventan neumes on lines |

5 Early-eleventh century according to James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge, 2006).

6 See <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/> (digest of *Le graduel romain, II: Les sources*; the dating is from Grier, *The Musical World*.

7 Details taken from Hornby, 'The Transmission History', 126.

8 Or perhaps St Gall or Murbach. Dated to the eleventh century at <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/> (digest of *Le graduel romain, II: Les sources*).

9 See <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/> (digest of *Le Graduel Romain, II: Les Sources*).

10 Details taken from Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, xvi.

11 Details taken from Hornby, 'The Transmission History', 127.

| SIGLUM | MANUSCRIPT TYPE | ORIGIN | DATE | NOTATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 904** | | | | |
| *Rog1* | Gradual | Rouen Cathedral | 13th c. | Square notation |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 358** | | | | |
| *Sab*[12] | Cantatorium | Saint Albans Abbey | *c.* 1160 | Anglo-Norman point neumes on lines |
| **VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque municipale MS 121** | | | | |
| *Sam1*[13] | Missal | St Amand | late 12th c. | Square notation on 4 lines |
| **LONDON, BL, Additional MS 12194** | | | | |
| *Sar1* | Gradual | Salisbury | 13th c. | Square notation on 4 lines |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 350** | | | | |
| *Stm*[14] | Missal | Aquileia or Moggio | 12th c. | German neumes |
| **LONDON, BL, MS Harleian 4951** | | | | |
| *Tou* | Gradual | Toulouse | 11th c. | Aquitanian on dry point lines. |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 341** | | | | |
| *Tyr*[15] | Gradual | Innichen (north-west of Aquileia) | 12th c. | Saint Gall neumes |
| **CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 75** | | | | |
| *Vaa1* | Gradual | St Vaast, Arras | 11th c. | French neumes |
| **VERCELLI, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 161** | | | | |
| *Vec1* | Gradual | Vercelli | 11th c. | north-Italian heighted neumes |
| **OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS 775** | | | | |
| *Vin2* | Troper | Winchester | 11th c. | Anglo-Saxon neumes |
| **WORCESTER, Chapter Library, MS F. 160** | | | | |
| *Vor1* | Gradual | Worcester | 13th c. | Square notation on 4 lines |
| **PARIS, BNF, MS lat. 903** | | | | |
| *Yrx* | Gradual | Saint Yrieix | 11th c. | Aquitanian neumes on drypoint lines |

12 Details taken from Hornby, 'The Transmission History', 127.

13 See <http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/> (digest of *Le graduel romain, II: Les sources*).

14 Details taken from Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, xvi.

15 Details taken from Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*, xvi.

APPENDIX 3

# FACSIMILES OF *AUDI FILIA* AND *DIFFUSA EST GRATIA* IN *LEI*, AND OF THE SECOND-MODE TRACTS IN *FLE1* AND *KOR*

## The Second-Mode Tracts in *Fle1*

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*Deus deus meus* (end): Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. Ms 0091, fol. 111r/ photograph © X. Benony

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*Tu es Petrus*: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 510 Helmst., Nachsatzblatt verso

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*Diffusa est gratia* and *Audi filia* (beginning): Leipzig, University Library MS 169 (formerly known as Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, MS Rep.I.93), fol. 44v.

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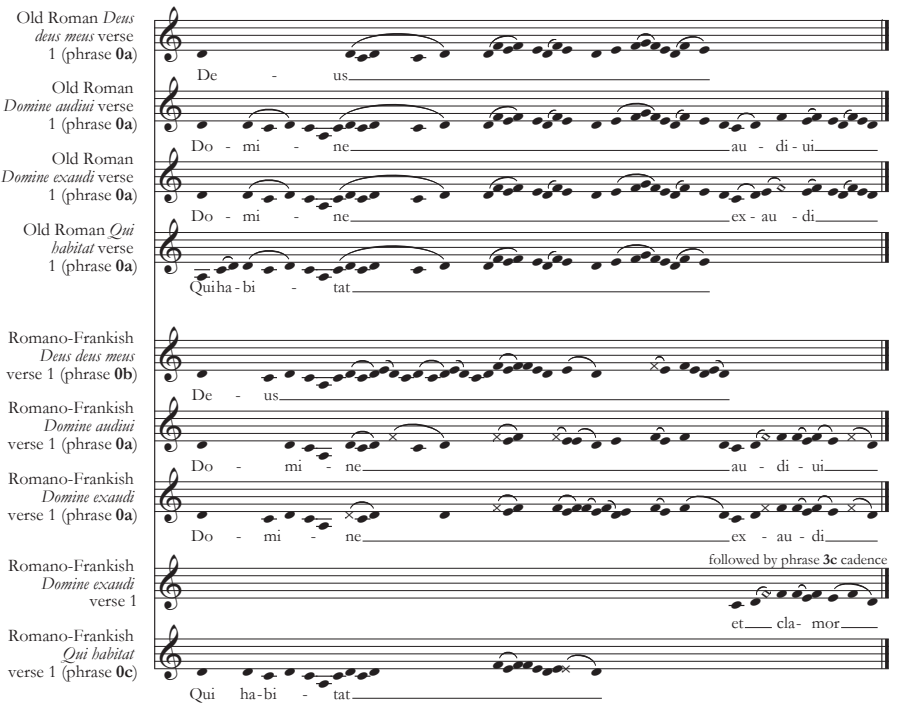
*Audi filia* (end): Leipzig, University Library, MS 169 (formerly known as Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, MS Rep.I.93 MS Rep.I.93), fol. 45r

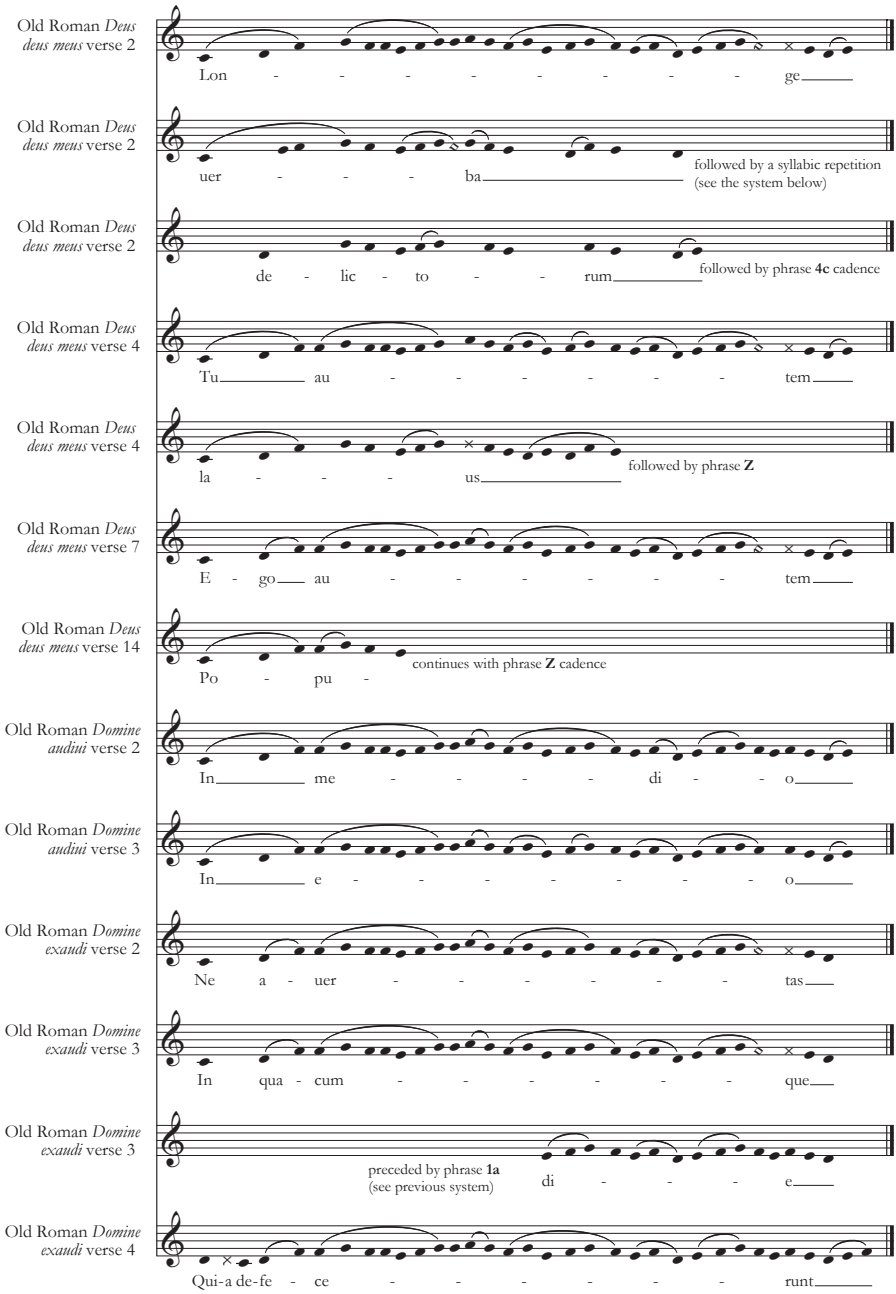
APPENDIX 4

# ANALYTICAL TABLES OF THE FORMULAIC PHRASES IN *FLE1* AND *ORC*

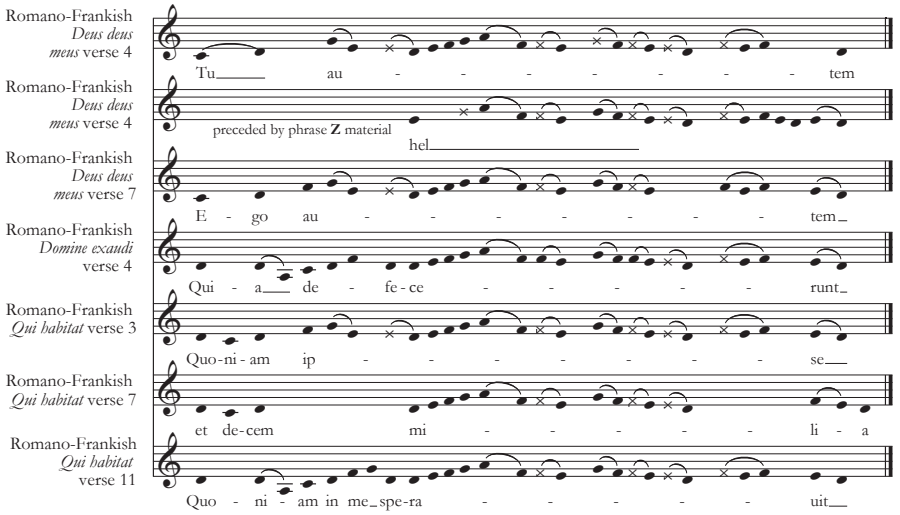
## Phrase **0**



# Phrase **1a** (Old Roman)

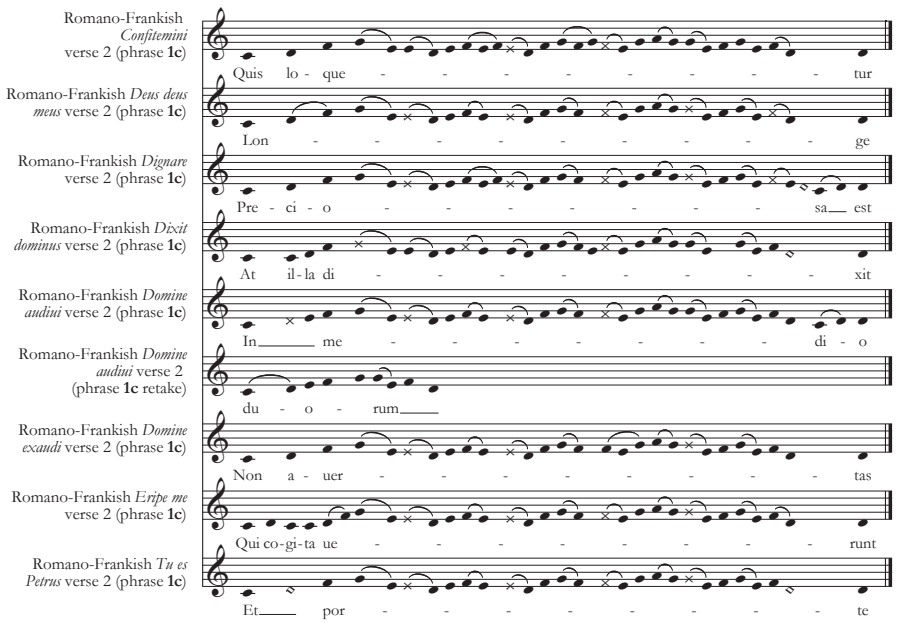


## Phrase **1a** (Romano-Frankish)

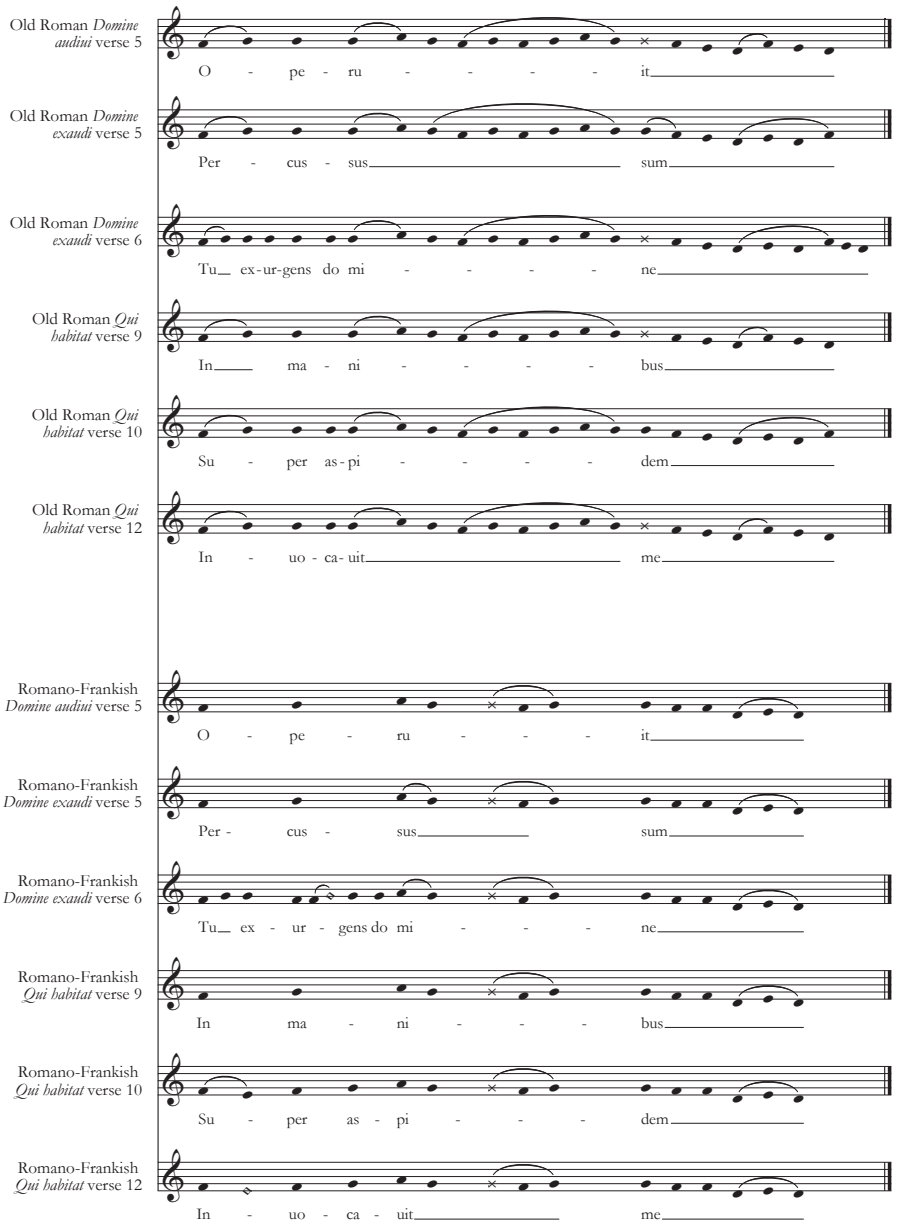



(For Phrase **1b**, see next page)

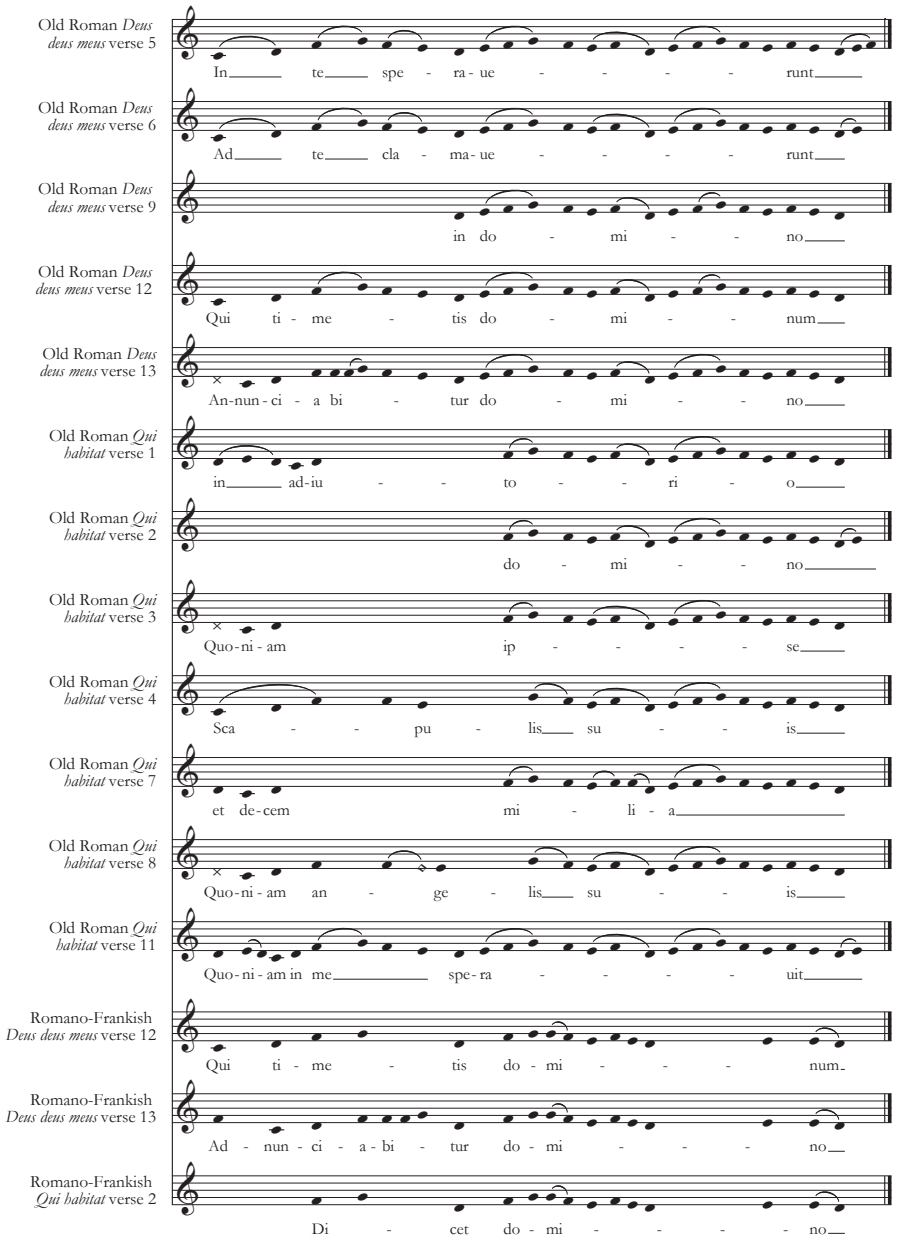
## Phrase **1c**



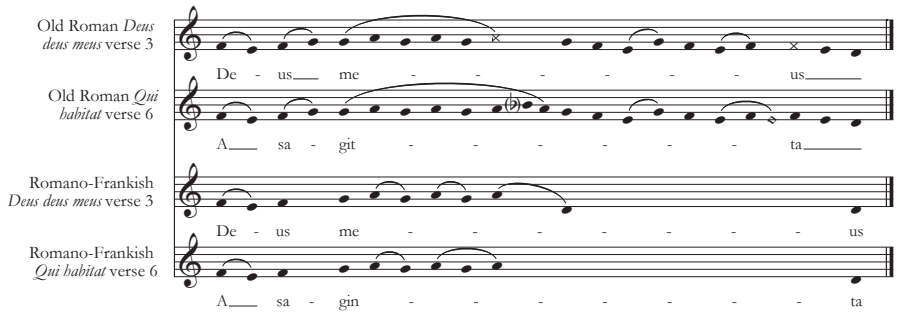
# Phrase **1b**


Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 5
O - pe - ru - - - - it
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 5
Per - cus - sus sum
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 6
Tu ex-ur-gens do mi - - - - ne
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 9
In ma - ni - - - - bus
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 10
Su - per as-pi - - - - dem
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 12
In - uo - ca- uit me
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 5
O - pe - ru - - - it
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 5
Per - cus - sus sum
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 6
Tu ex - ur - gens do mi - - - ne
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 9
In ma - ni - - - bus
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 10
Su - per as - pi - - - dem
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 12
In - uo - ca - uit me

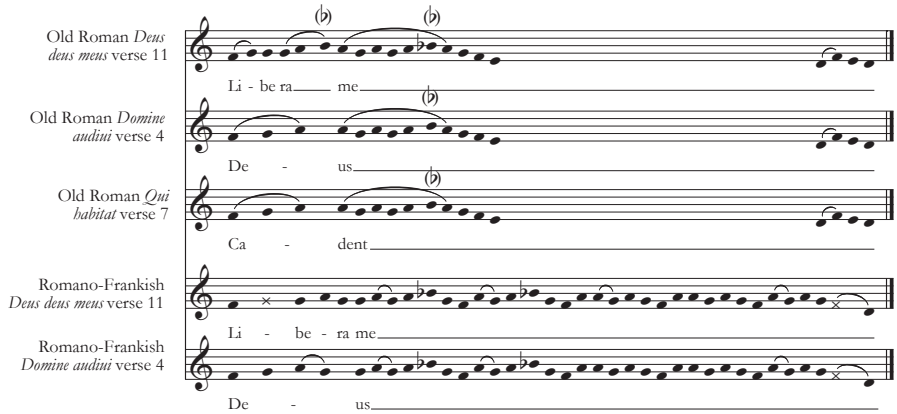
# Phrase 1d


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 5
In te spe - ra - ue - - - - runt
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 6
Ad te cla - ma - ue - - - - runt
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 9
in do - mi - - no
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 12
Qui ti - me - tis do - mi - - num
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 13
An-nun - ci - a bi - tur do - mi - - no
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 1
in ad-iu - - to - - ri - o
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 2
do - mi - - no
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 3
Quo-ni - am ip - - - - se
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 4
Sca - - pu - lis su - - is
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 7
et de-cem mi - li - a
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 8
Quo-ni - am an - ge - lis su - - is
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 11
Quo-ni - am in me spe-ra - - - - uit
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 12
Qui ti - me - tis do - mi - - - num
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 13
Ad - nun - ci - a - bi - tur do - mi - - - no
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 2
Di - cet do - mi - - - - no

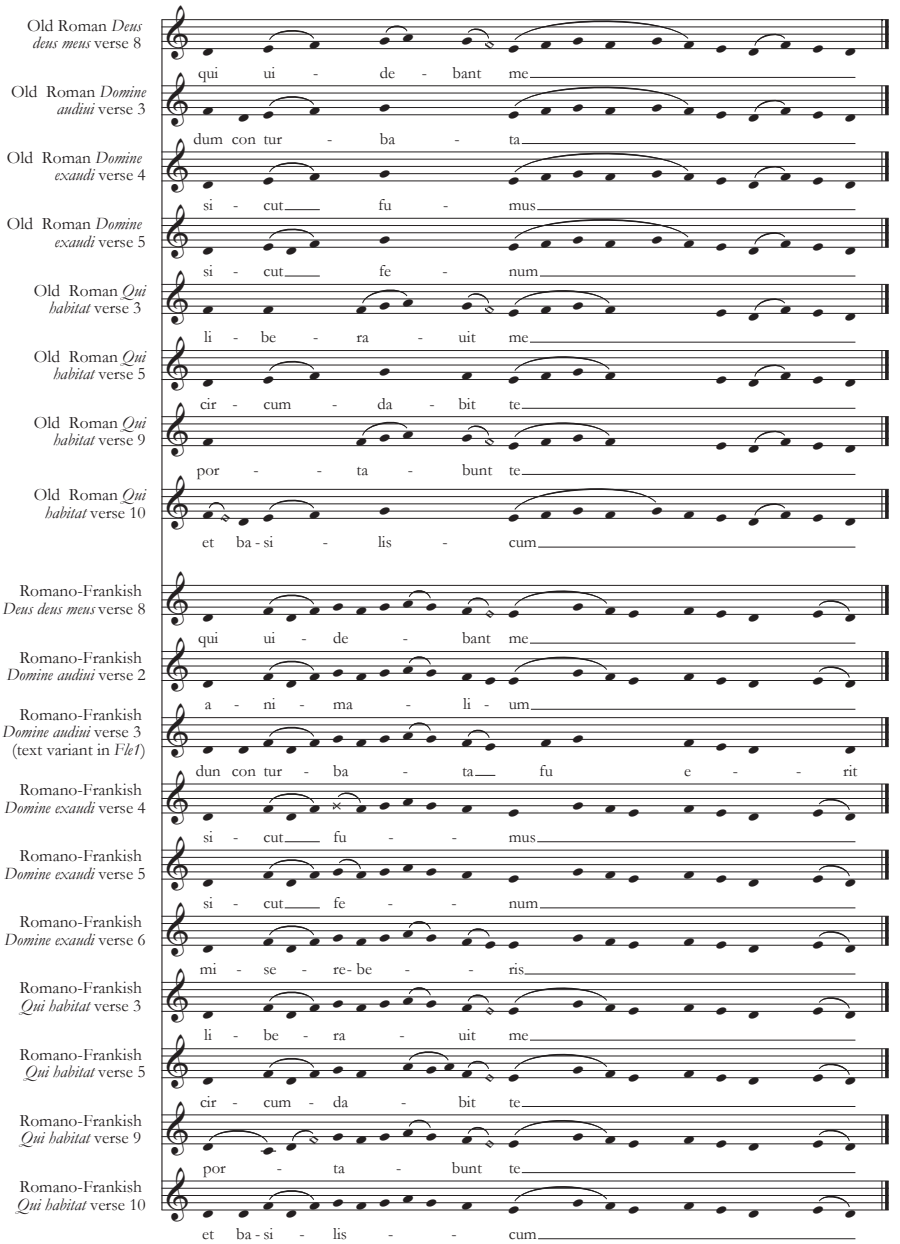
## Phrase **1e**



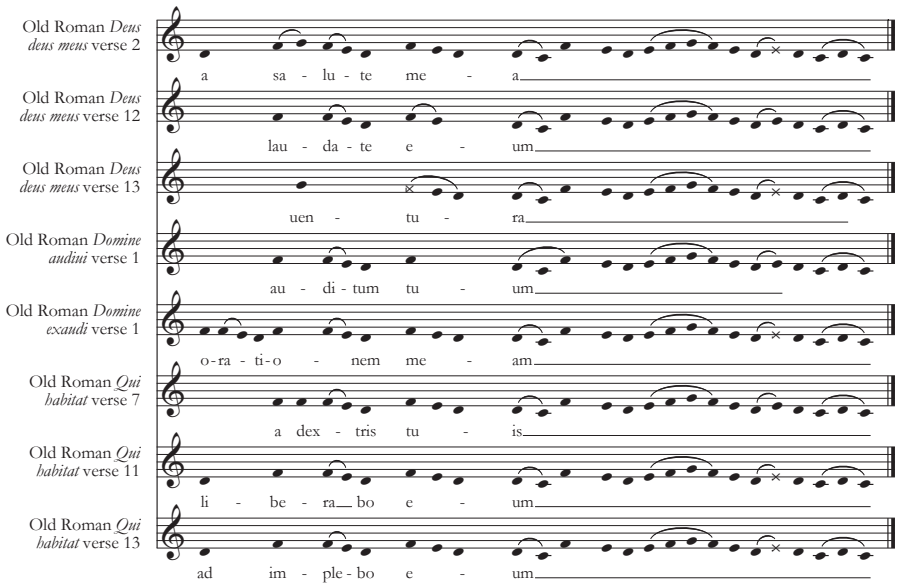

## Phrase **1f**



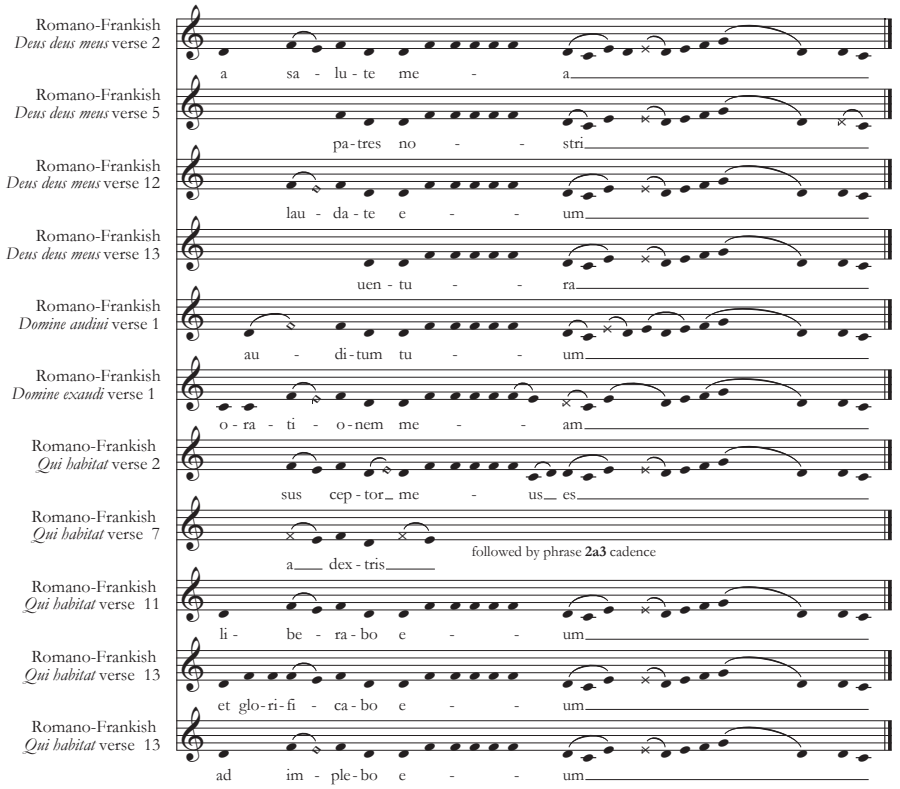
# Phrase 1g


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 8
qui ui - de - bant me
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 3
dum con tur - ba - ta
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 4
si - cut fu - mus
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 5
si - cut fe - num
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 3
li - be - ra - uit me
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 5
cir - cum - da - bit te
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 9
por - - ta - bunt te
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 10
et ba - si - lis - cum
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 8
qui ui - de - bant me
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 2
a - ni - ma - li - um
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 3 (text variant in *Fle1*)
dun con tur - ba - ta fu e - - rit
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4
si - cut fu - - mus
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 5
si - cut fe - - num
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 6
mi - se - re- be - - ris
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 3
li - be - ra - uit me
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 5
cir - cum - da - bit te
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 9
por - ta - bunt te
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 10
et ba - si - lis - - cum

## Phrase **2a1** (Old Roman)

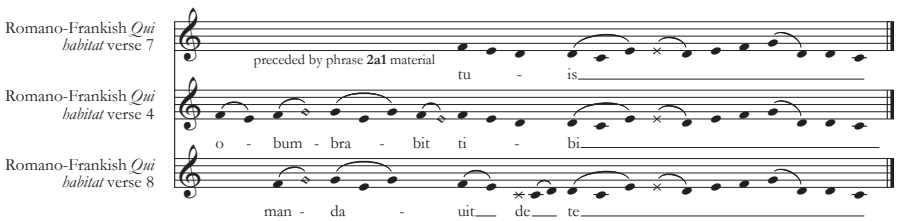


## Phrase **2a1** (Romano-Frankish)

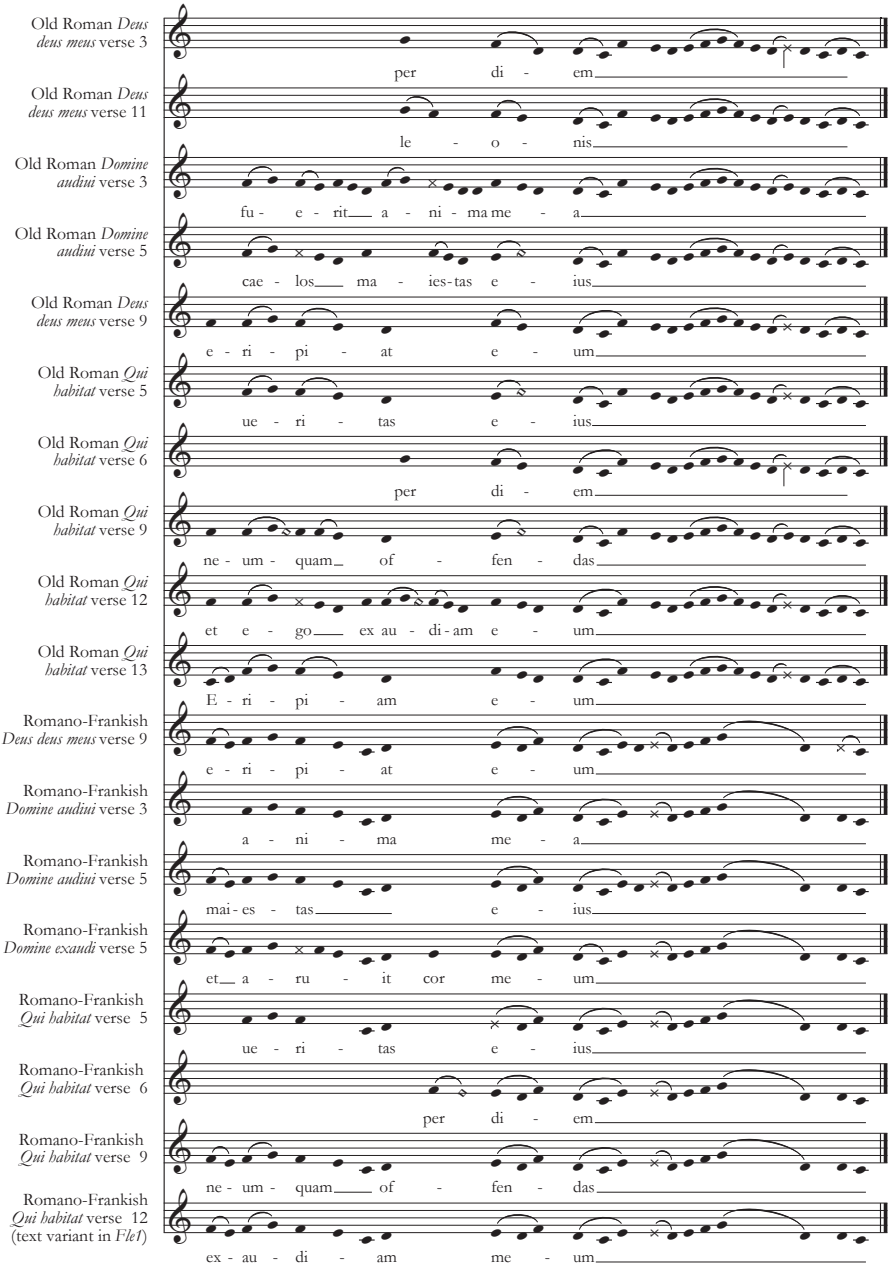



For Phrase **2a2**, see next page

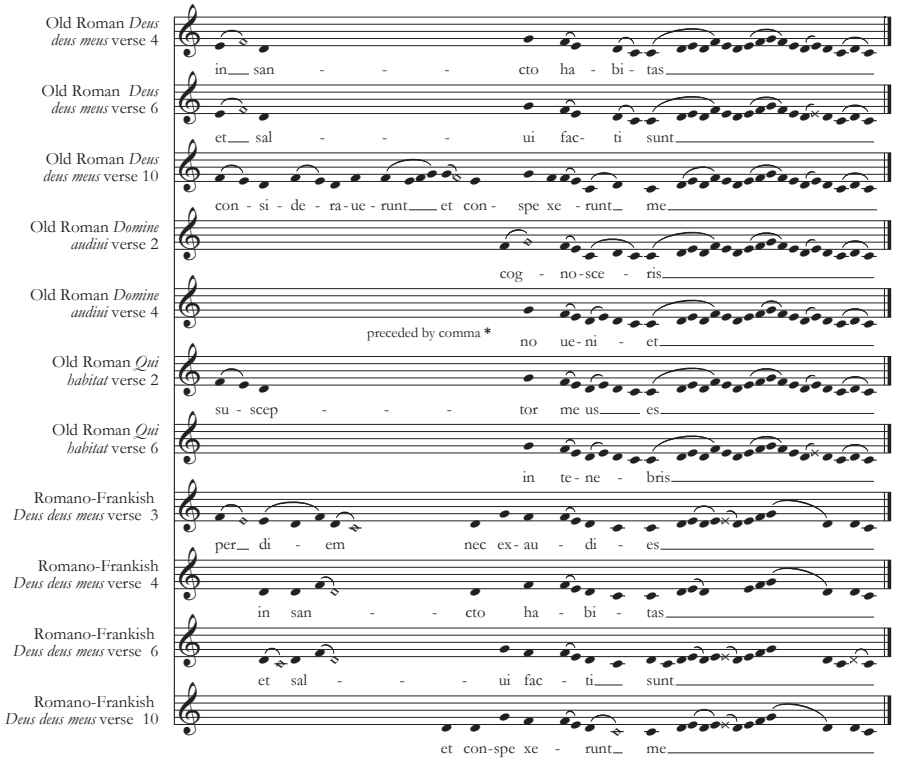
## Phrase **2a3**



# Phrase 2a2

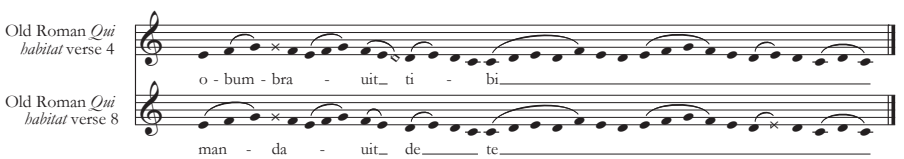

Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 3
per di - em
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 11
le - o - nis
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 3
fu - e - rit a - ni - ma me - a
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 5
cae - los ma - ies-tas e - ius
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 9
e - ri - pi - at e - um
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 5
ue - ri - tas e - ius
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 6
per di - em
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 9
ne - um - quam of - fen - das
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 12
et e - go ex au - di - am e - um
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 13
E - ri - pi - am e - um
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 9
e - ri - pi - at e - um
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 3
a - ni - ma me - a
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 5
mai - es - tas e - ius
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 5
et a - ru - it cor me - um
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 5
ue - ri - tas e - ius
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 6
per di - em
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 9
ne - um - quam of - fen - das
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 12 (text variant in *Flel*)
ex - au - di - am me - um

## Phrase 2b1

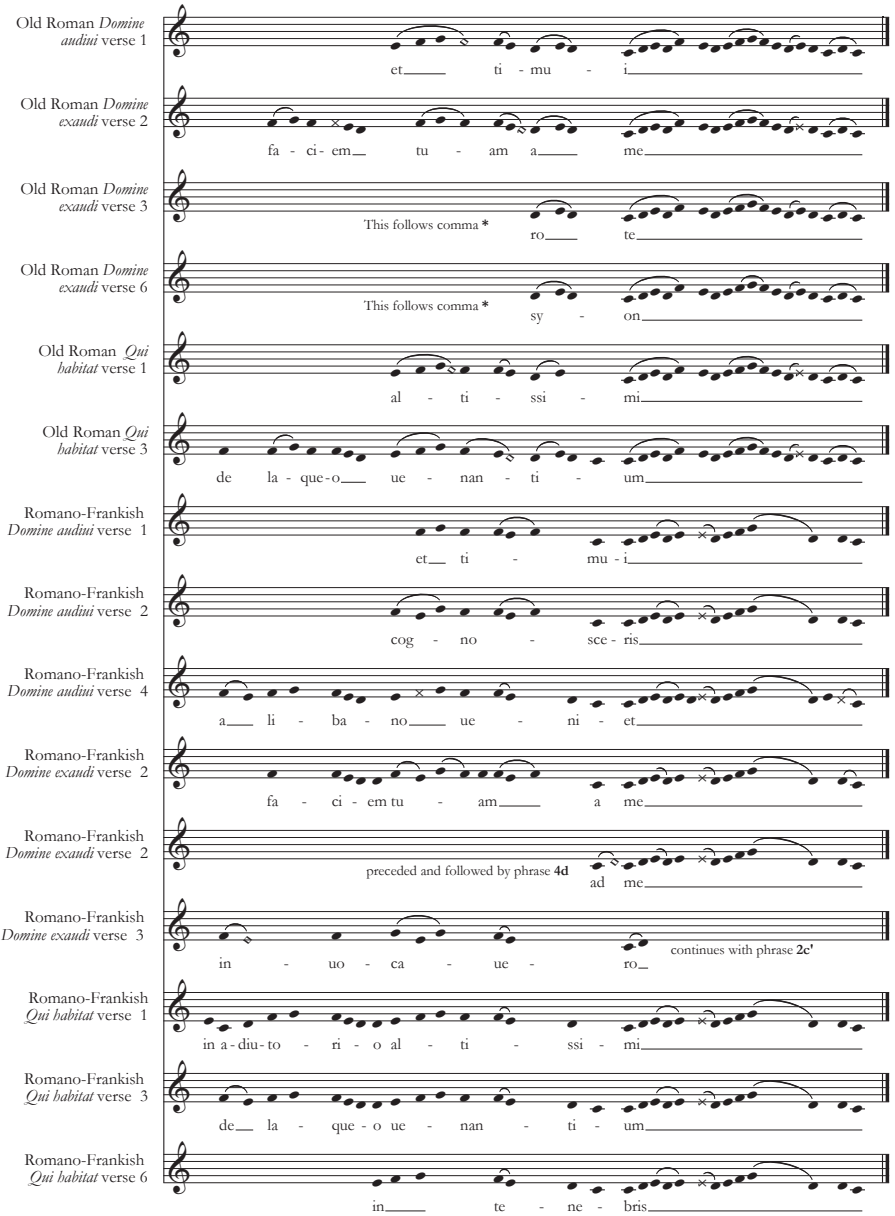



For Phrase 2b2, see next page

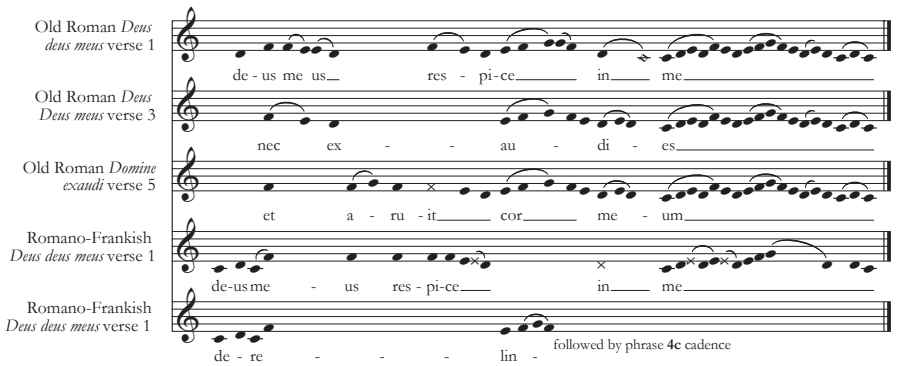
## Phrase 2b3



# Phrase 2b2

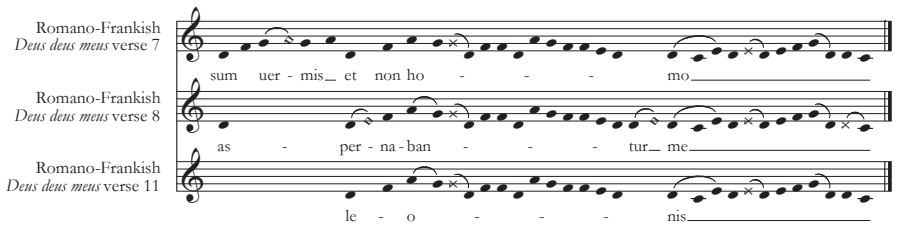

Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 1
et ti - mu - i
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 2
fa - ci - em tu - am a me
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 3
This follows comma *
ro te
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 6
This follows comma *
sy - on
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 1
al - ti - ssi - mi
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 3
de la - que - o ue - nan - ti - um
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 1
et ti - mu - i
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 2
cog - no - sce - ris
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 4
a li - ba - no ue - ni - et
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 2
fa - ci - em tu - am a me
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 2
preceded and followed by phrase **4d**
ad me
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 3
in - uo - ca - ue - ro
continues with phrase **2c'**
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 1
in a - diu - to - ri - o al - ti - ssi - mi
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 3
de la - que - o ue - nan - ti - um
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 6
in te - ne - bris

## Phrase **2b4**

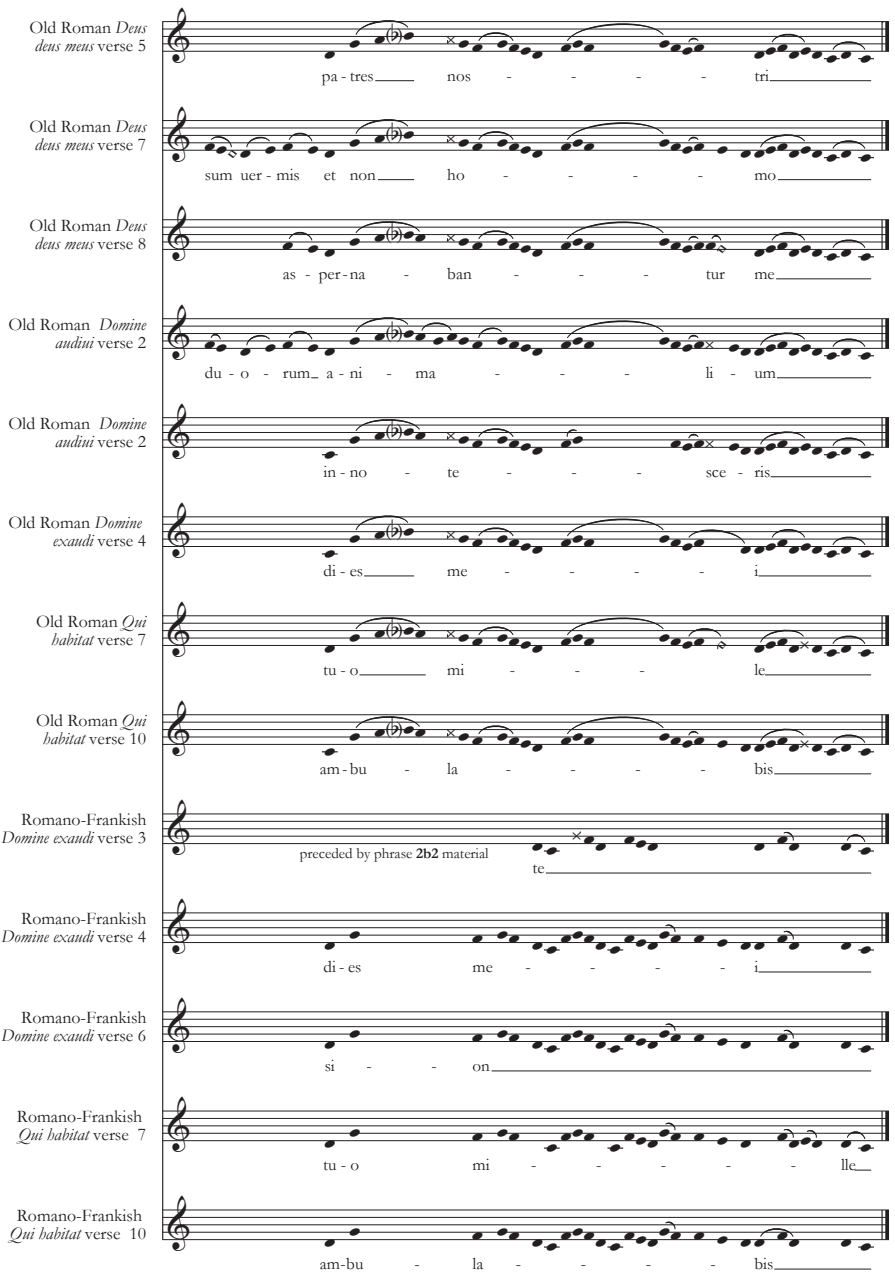



For Phrase **2c**, see next page

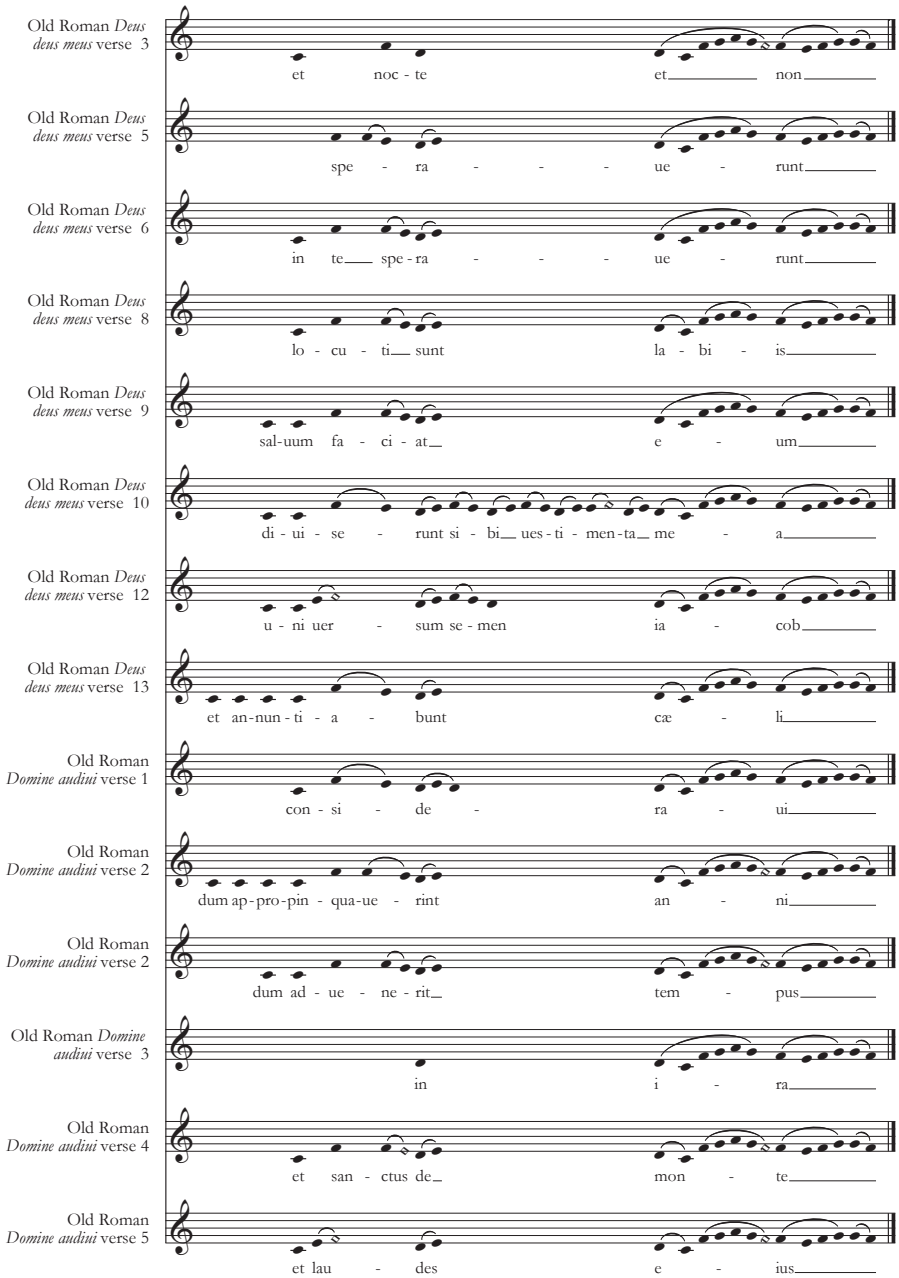
## Phrase **2d**



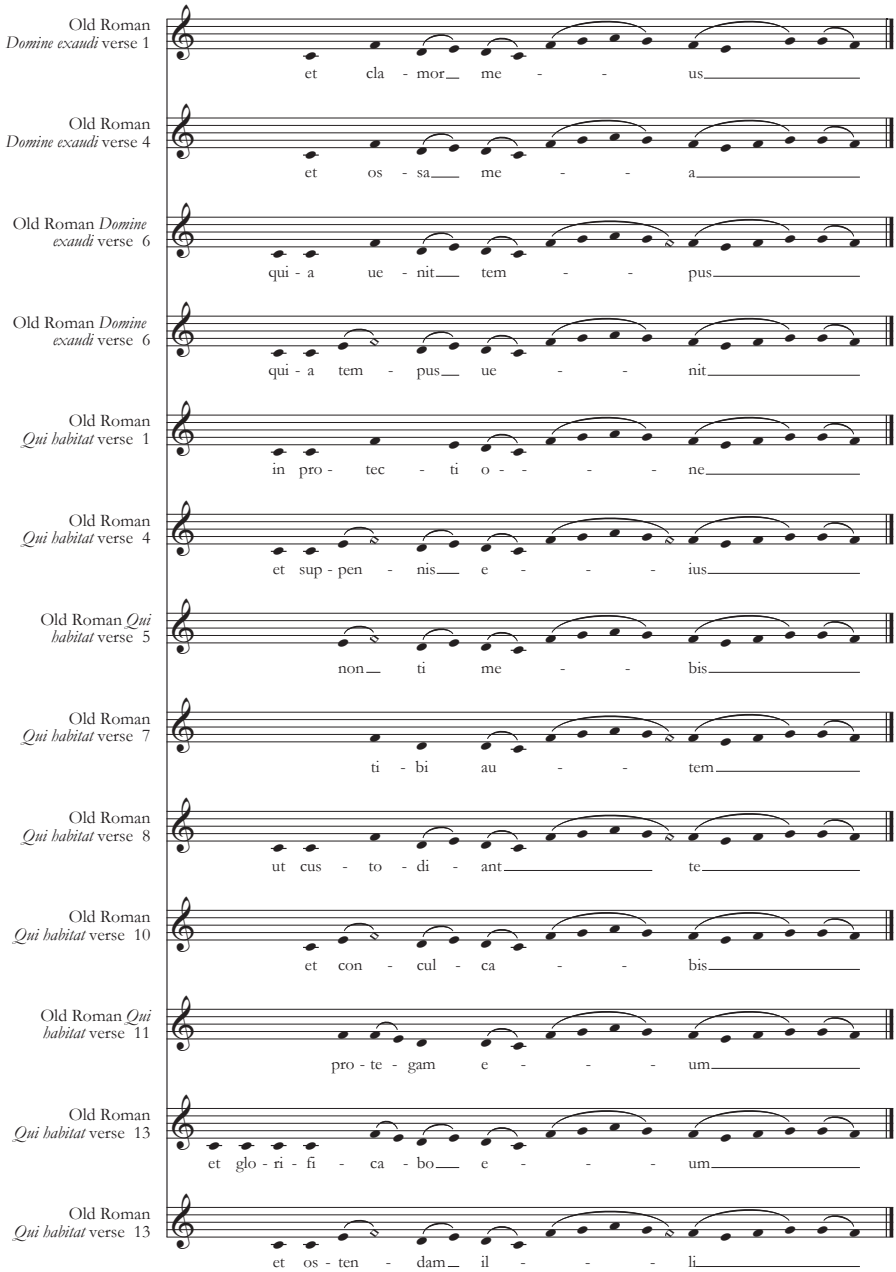
# Phrase 2c


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 5
pa - tres nos - - - - tri
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 7
sum uer - mis et non ho - - - - mo
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 8
as - per - na - ban - - - tur me
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 2
du - o - rum a - ni - ma - - - li - um
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 2
in - no - te - - - sce - ris
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 4
di - es me - - - - i
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 7
tu - o mi - - - le
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 10
am - bu - la - - - - bis
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 3
preceded by phrase **2b2** material
te
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4
di - es me - - - - i
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 6
si - - on
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 7
tu - o mi - - - - lle
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 10
am-bu - la - - - - bis

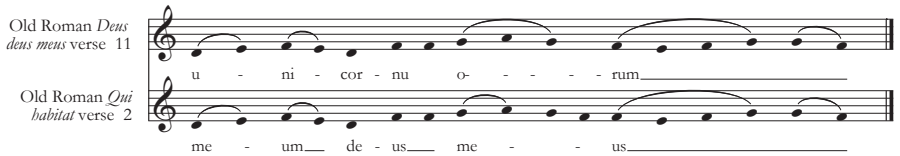
# Phrase **3a** (Old Roman)



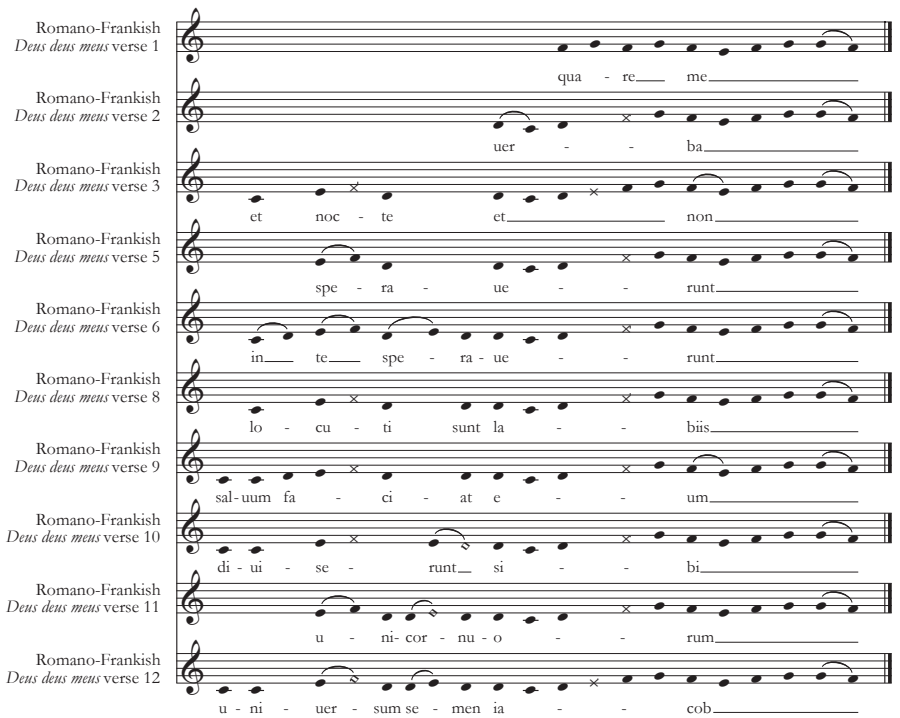
## Phrase **3a** (Old Roman, cont.)



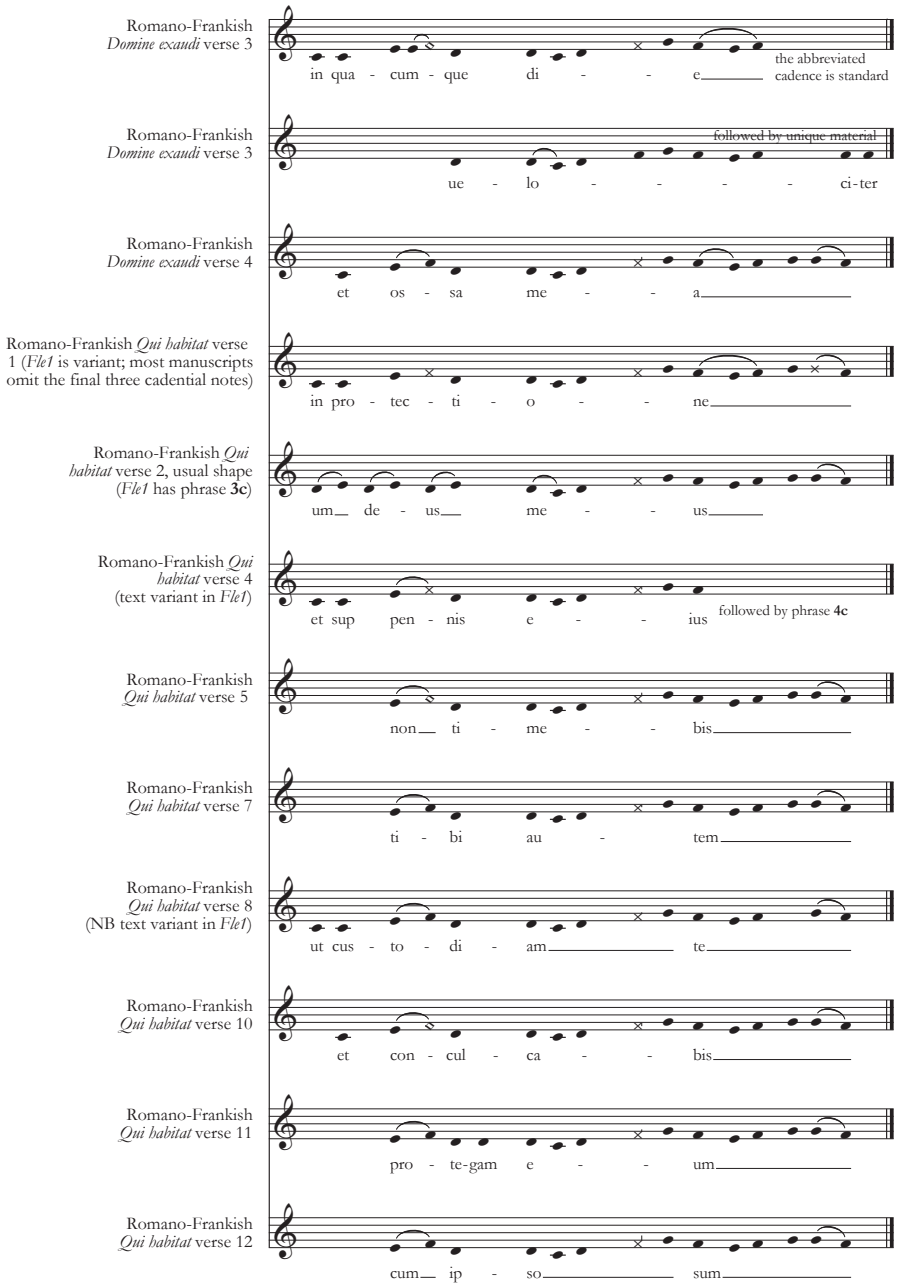
## Old Roman undefined phrase **3**



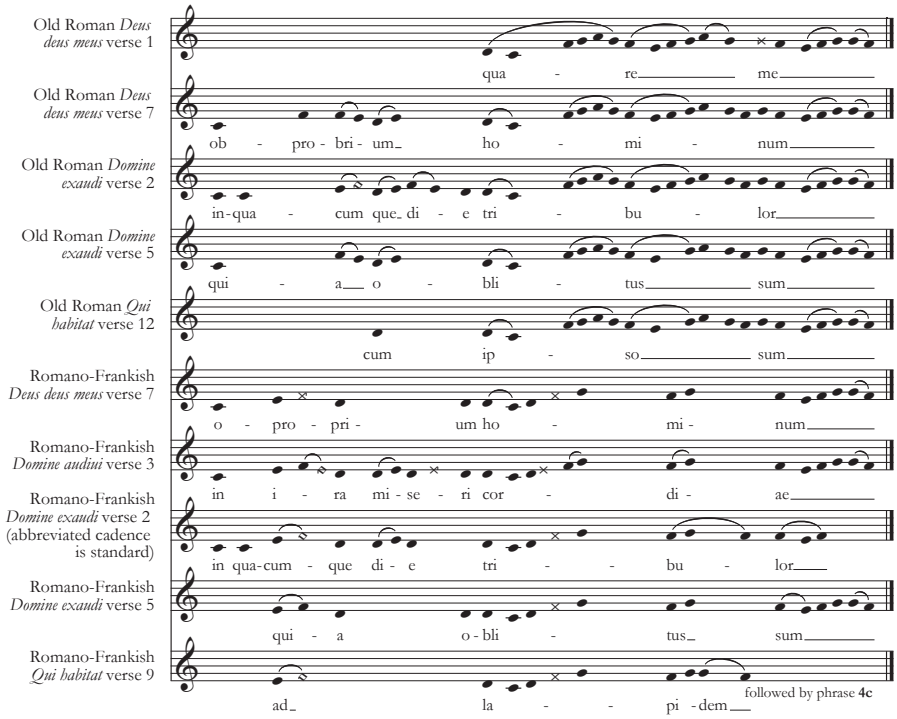

## Phrase **3a** (Romano-Frankish)



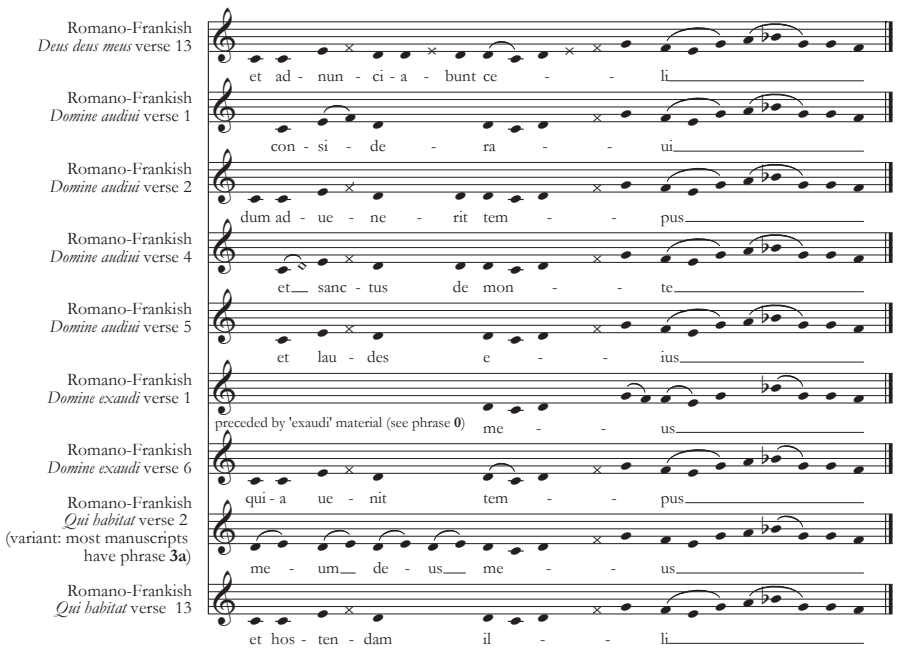
# Phrase **3a** (Romano-Frankish, cont.)



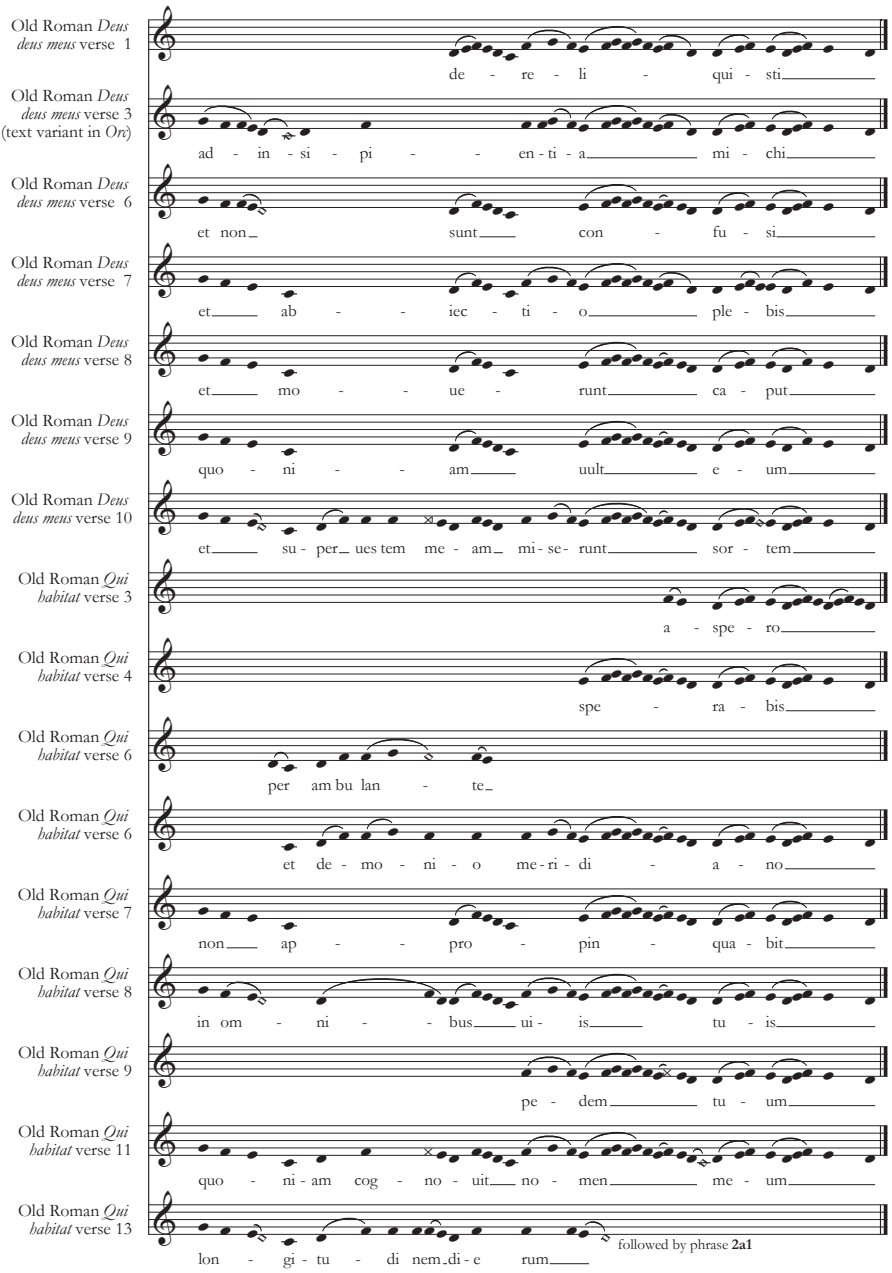
## Phrase 3b



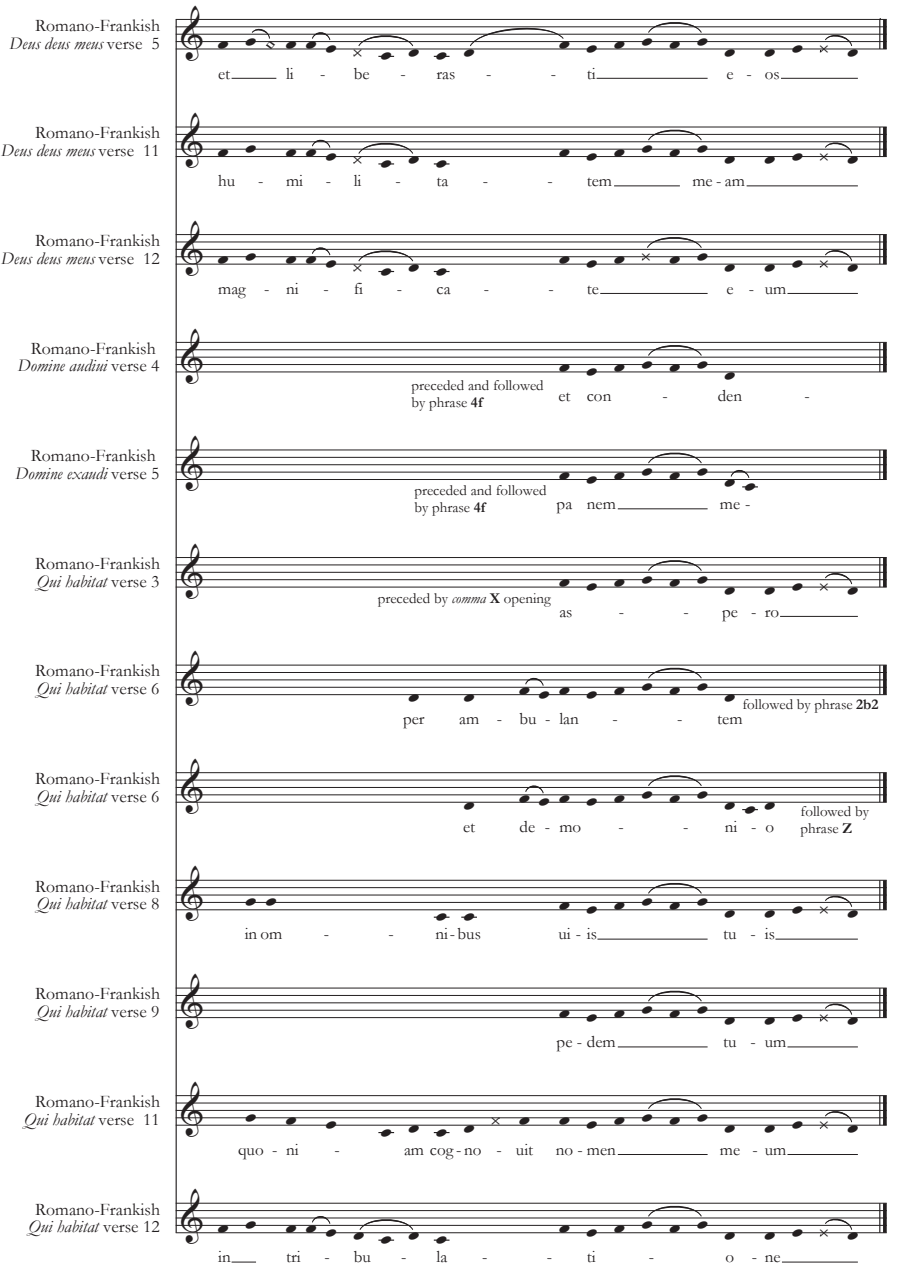

## Phrase 3c



# Phrase **4a** (Old Roman)

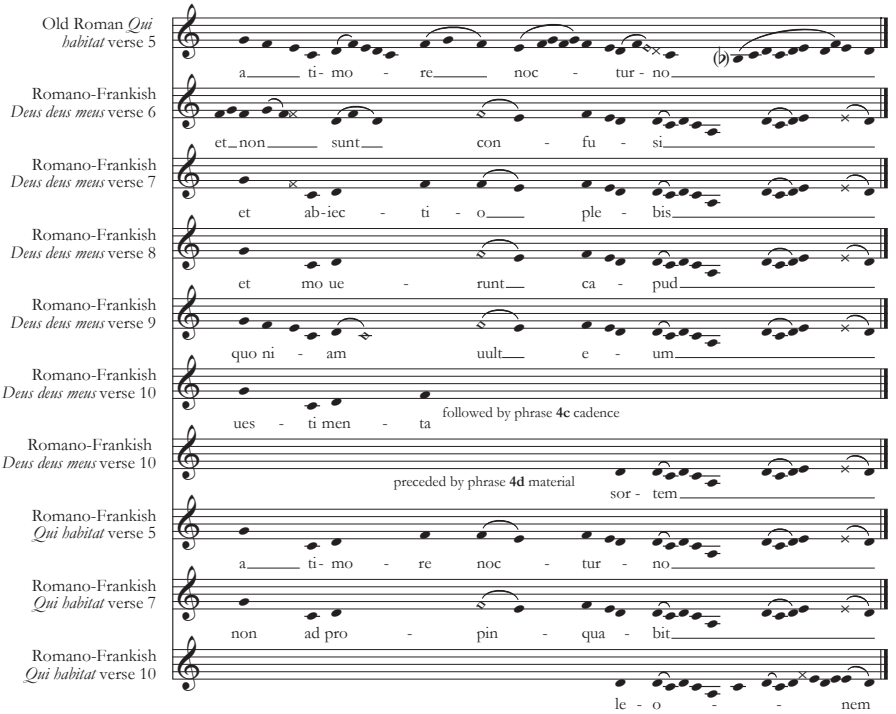


# Phrase **4a** (Romano-Frankish)



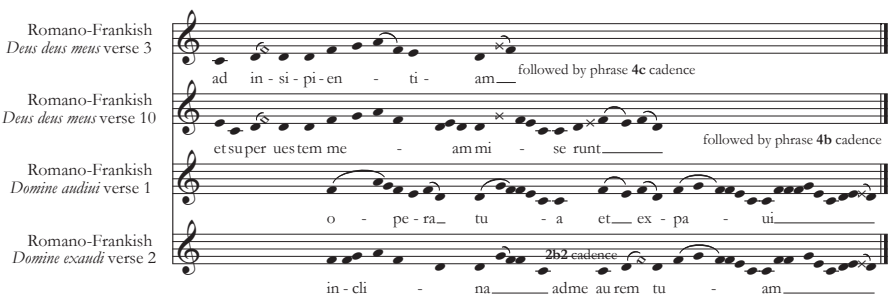
## Phrase **4a–f** (Old Roman)

## Phrase **4b**

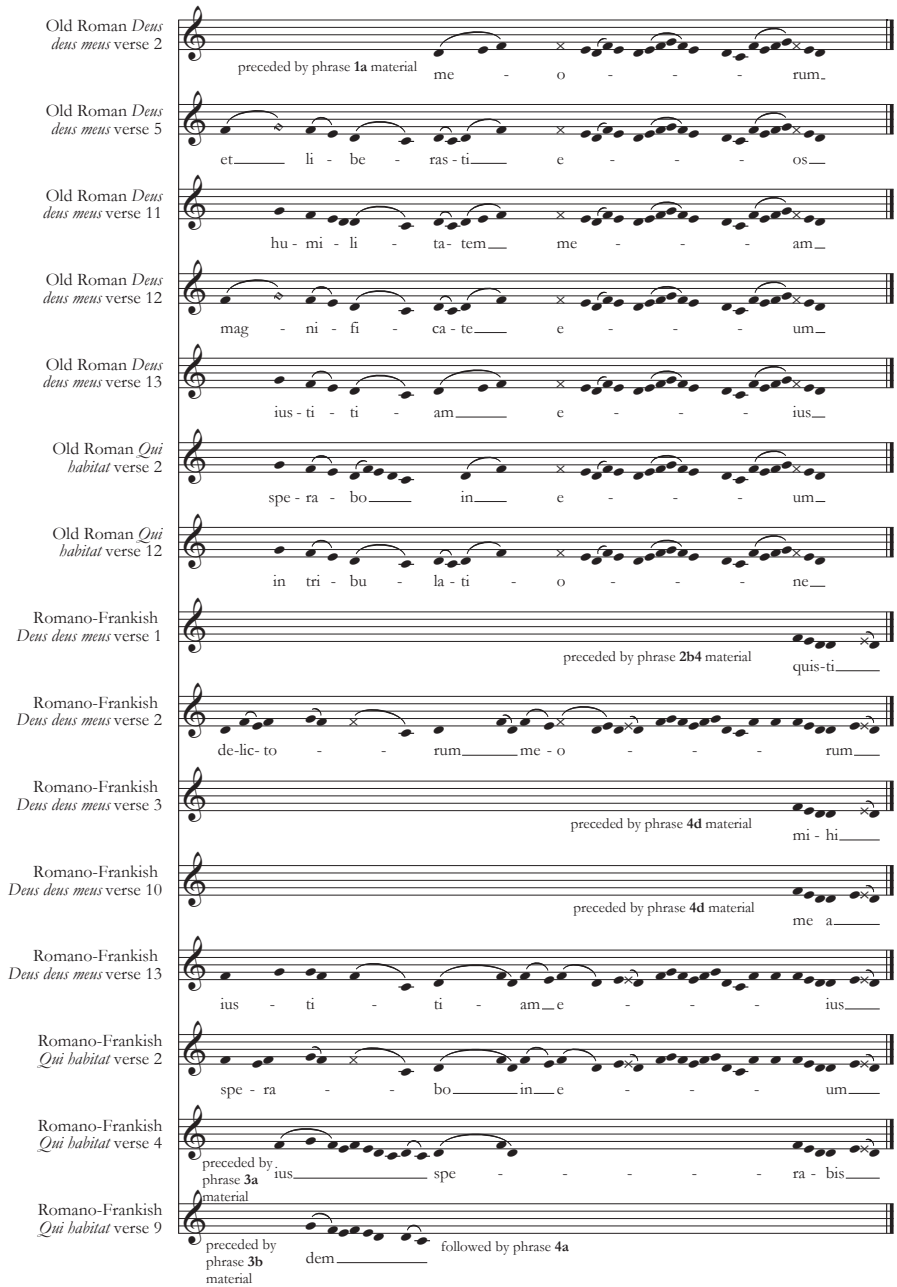



For Phrase **4c**, see following page

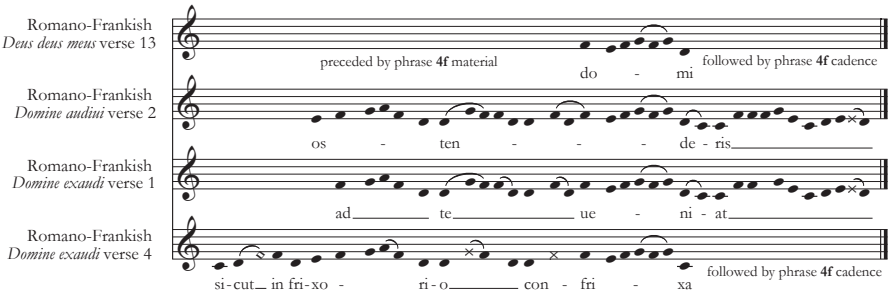
## Phrase **4d**



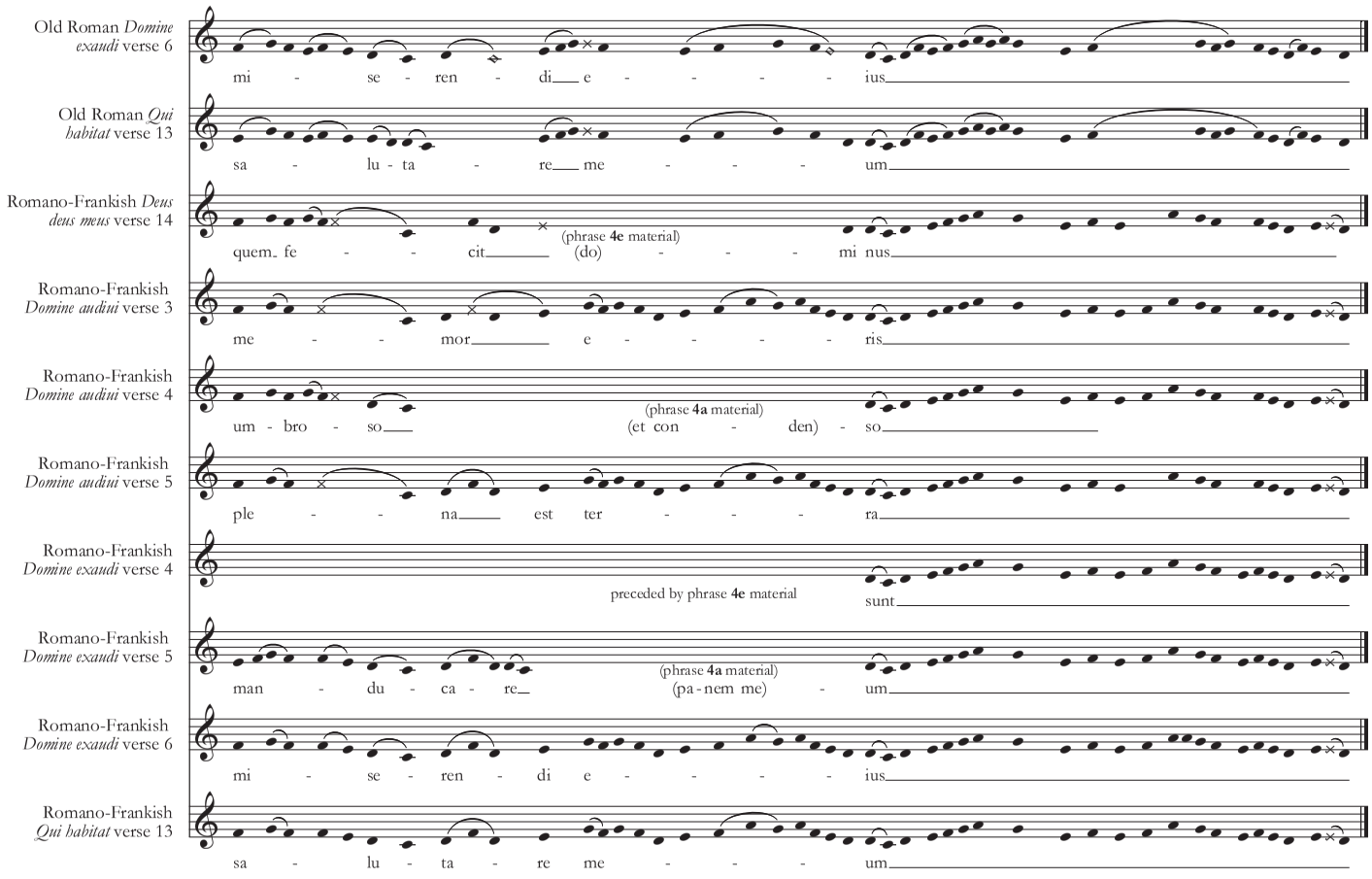
# Phrase 4c


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 2
preceded by phrase **1a** material
me - o - - - rum
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 5
et li - be - ras - ti e - - - os
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 11
hu - mi - li - ta - tem me - - - am
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 12
mag - ni - fi - ca - te e - - - um
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 13
ius - ti - ti - am e - - - ius
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 2
spe - ra - bo in e - - - um
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 12
in tri - bu - la - ti - o - - - ne
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 1
preceded by phrase **2b4** material
quis-ti
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 2
de-lic- to - - rum me - o - - - rum
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 3
preceded by phrase **4d** material
mi - hi
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 10
preceded by phrase **4d** material
me a
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 13
ius - ti - ti - am e - - - ius
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 2
spe - ra - - bo in e - - - um
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 4
preceded by phrase **3a** material
ius spe - - - - - ra - bis
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 9
preceded by phrase **3b** material
dem
followed by phrase **4a**

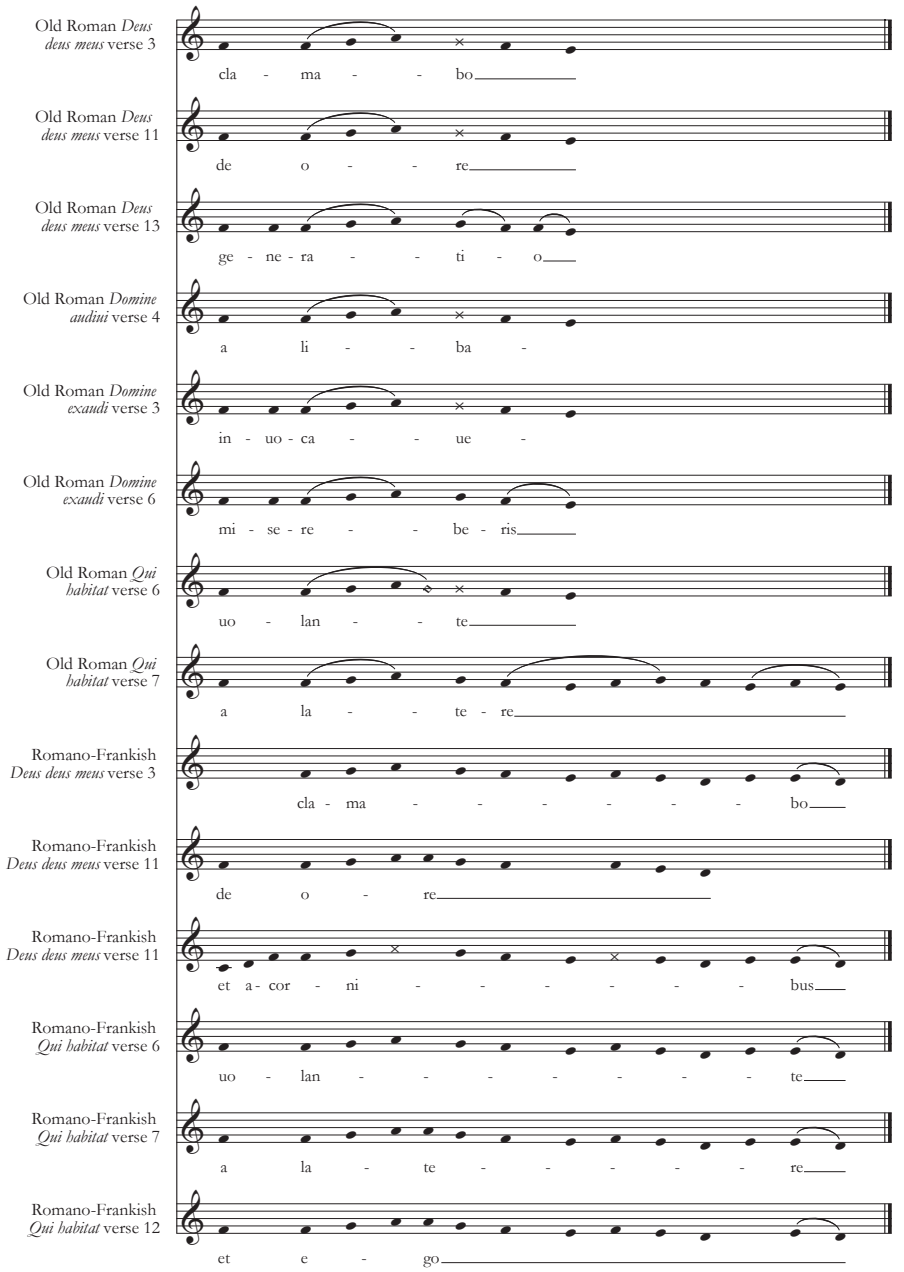
# Phrase **4e**


Romano-Frankish
*Deus deus meus* verse 13
preceded by phrase **4f** material
do - mi
followed by phrase **4f** cadence
Romano-Frankish
*Domine audiui* verse 2
os - ten - - - de - ris
Romano-Frankish
*Domine exaudi* verse 1
ad te ue - ni - at
Romano-Frankish
*Domine exaudi* verse 4
si - cut in fri - xo - ri - o con - fri - xa
followed by phrase **4f** cadence

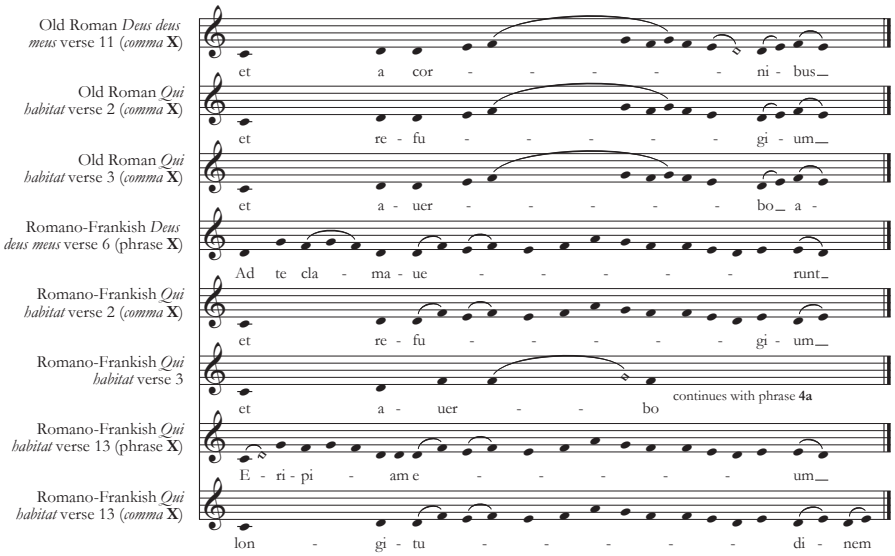
## Phrase 4f


Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 6
mi - se - ren - di e - - - - - ius
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 13
sa - lu - ta - re me - - - - um
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 14
quem- fe - - - cit (phrase 4e material) (do) - - - - mi nus
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 3
me - - - mor e - - - - - ris
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 4
um - bro - so (phrase 4a material) (et con - den) - so
Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui* verse 5
ple - - - na est ter - - - - ra
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 4
preceded by phrase 4e material
sunt
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 5
man - du - ca - re (phrase 4a material) (pa - nem me) - um
Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi* verse 6
mi - se - ren - di e - - - - - ius
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 13
sa - lu - ta - re me - - - - um

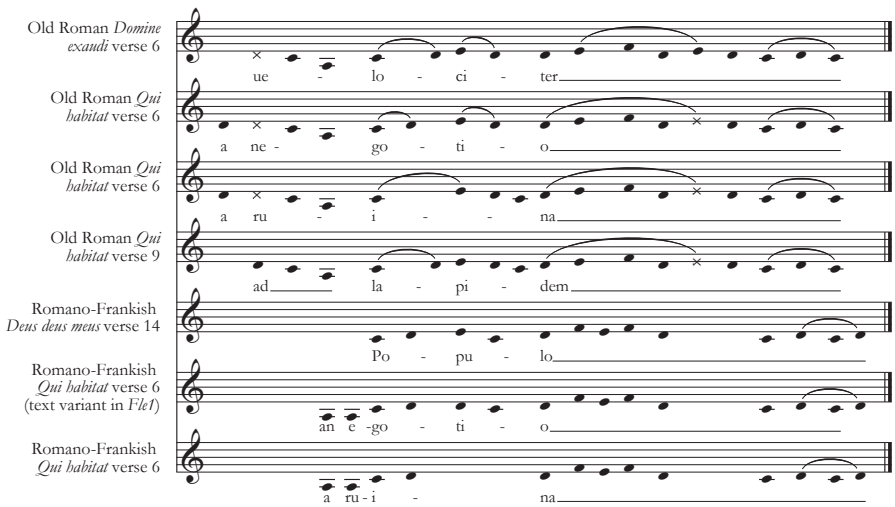
## *Comma* *


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 3
cla - ma - - bo
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 11
de o - - re
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 13
ge - ne - ra - - ti - o
Old Roman *Domine audiui* verse 4
a li - - ba -
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 3
in - uo - ca - - ue -
Old Roman *Domine exaudi* verse 6
mi - se - re - - be - ris
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 6
uo - lan - - te
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 7
a la - - te - re
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 3
cla - ma - - - - - - bo
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 11
de o - re
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 11
et a - cor - ni - - - - - - bus
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 6
uo - lan - - - - - - - te
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 7
a la - te - - - - - - re
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 12
et e - go

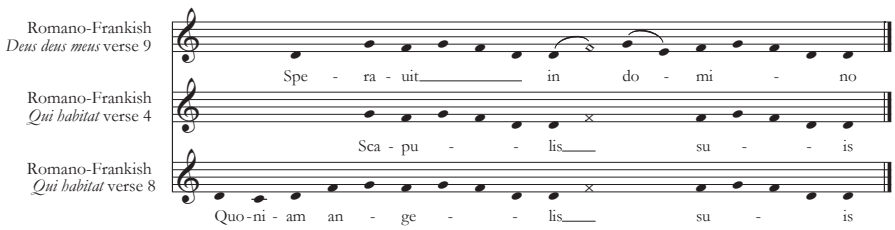
## *Comma* X and phrase X



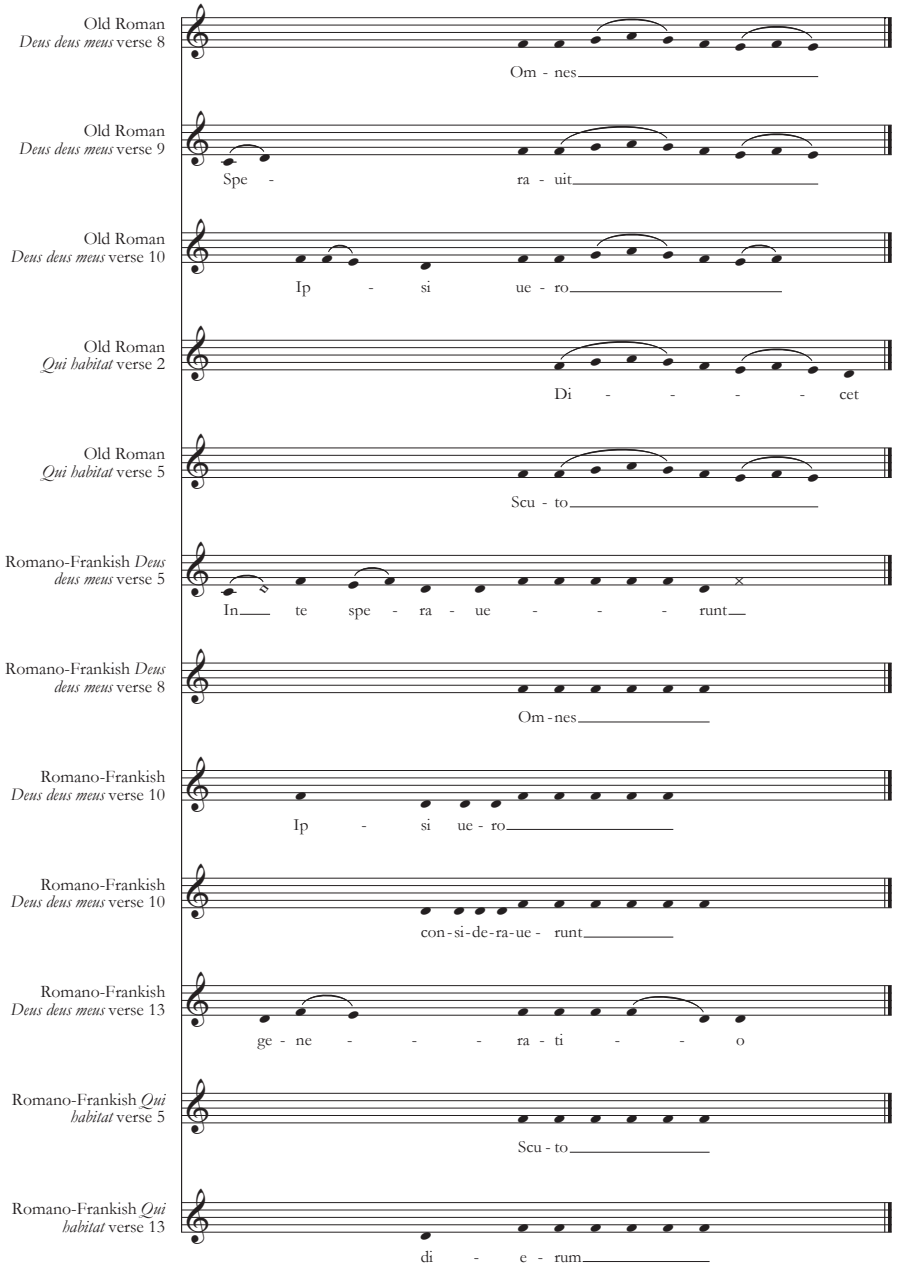

## *Comma* Y



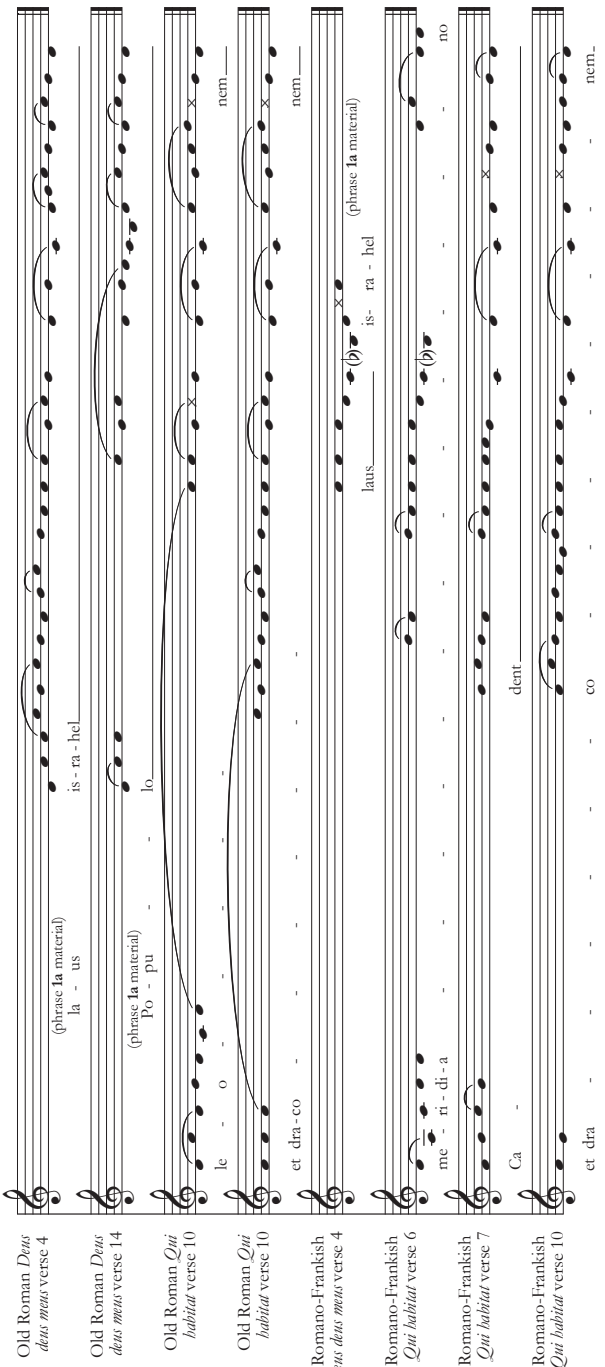

## *Syllaba* V



## *Syllaba* W


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 8
Om - nes
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 9
Spe - ra - uit
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 10
Ip - si ue - ro
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 2
Di - - - - cet
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 5
Scu - to
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 5
In te spe - ra - ue - - - runt
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 8
Om - nes
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 10
Ip - si ue - ro
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 10
con - si - de - ra - ue - runt
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 13
ge - ne - - - ra - ti - - o
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 5
Scu - to
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 13
di - e - rum

## Phrase Z


Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 4
(phrase **1a** material)
la - us
is - ra - hel
Old Roman *Deus deus meus* verse 14
(phrase **1a** material)
Po - pu - lo
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 10
le - o - nem
Old Roman *Qui habitat* verse 10
et dra - co - - - - - - nem
Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus* verse 4
laus is- ra - hel
(phrase **1a** material)
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 6
me - ri - di - a - - - - - - - - no
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 7
Ca - dent
Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat* verse 10
et dra - co - - - - - - nem

APPENDIX 5

# THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE CORE-REPERTORY SECOND-MODE TRACTS AND *ERIPE ME*

The tables include all the sources in my sample of early manuscripts; a blank box indicates that there are no variants from the tract in that portion of text. Spelling variants are not noted here. While it is important broadly to establish the textual origins of the chant texts, the minutiae of textual transmission ('abitat'/'habitat'; 'celi'/'caeli' etc.) are no more my concern in this study than the minutiae of melodic transmission. In listing variants from the Roman and Old Latin Psalter, differences from the tract text in an isolated manuscript are not signalled here.

I have used Robert Weber's edition of the Roman Psalter in identifying the Roman Psalter tradition together with its variants. The minutiae of Gallican Psalter transmission are less crucial here; I have simply used the apparatus of the modern *Biblia sacra vulgata* (Stuttgart, 1994), noting common variants. Arnobius the Younger's later-fifth-century psalm commentaries include paraphrases of the psalm texts discussed here.[1] Arnobius is potentially crucial for establishing Roman psalm texts at the time when many chant texts came into being.[2] Arnobius's citations correspond sometimes to the Roman Psalter, sometimes to the Gallican Psalter, and are sometimes inconsistent with any known psalter tradition.[3] Since Arnobius is generally both paraphrasing the psalms and commenting on them at the same time, there are often textual differences from the psalter texts. Arnobius's commentary on *Qui habitat* follows the text closely; that on *Deus deus meus* hardly quotes any of the text at all, instead describing the Crucifixion at length. Despite this, his citations are worth noting here because they further illustrate the certainly Roman milieu of the tract texts under consideration.

The manuscript sigla used here are taken from Robert Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins; éd. critique par Dom Robert Weber* (Rome, 1953), as follows:

1 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*.
2 See Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading', 63–9; see also Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*, ch. 2.
3 Maloy, *Inside the Offertory*.

**Roman Psalters**
A = London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian, A1 (Vespasian Psalter, Canterbury, *c*. 700)
B = London, BL, Additional MS 37517 (Bosworth Psalter, tenth century)
C = Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23 (eleventh century)
D = Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1 (twelfth century)
H = Berlin, Hamilton 553 (eighth century)
K = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., MS Aug XXXVIII (ninth-century Reichenau triple Psalter)
M = Montpellier, Faculté de Médicine, MS 409 (late-eighth century)
N = New York, Pierpont Morgan library, MS 776 (Lincoln, late-eighth century)
P = Montecassino, MS 559 (Montecassino, eleventh-twelfth century)
Q = Rome, Vatican, MS Urbs lat. 585 (copied at Montecassino, 1099–1105)
R = Rome, Vatican, MS Reg. lat. 13 (late-eleventh century Italian. Benevento or Naples region)
S = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Codex Bibl. Fol. 12 (England or north-East France, eighth century (uncial); ended up at Echternach)
T = Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 15 (A. 20) (early-eleventh-century Reims triple Psalter)
U = Rome, Vatican, Arch. San Pietro (twelfth-century Italian psalm commentary by Bruno de Segni)
V = Rome, Vatican, MS lat. 12958 (twelfth century, St Mary of the Martyrs (Pantheon), Rome)
X = Rome, Vatican, MS Basilicanus D. 156 (twelfth century)

**Old Latin Psalters**
α and β are the version found in Augustine's writings. This translation is of North Italian origin, and was subsequently taken to North Africa.
α = Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, MS I (1) (sixth–seventh century, North Italy)
β = Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 912, (incomplete, eighth century)
γ and δ are the Lyonnais 'gaulois' version.
γ = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 11947 (sixth century, North Italian, traditionally supposed to be the Psalter of San Germain himself)
δ = St Petersburg, Public Library, MS F.v.I.n.5 (eighth century, Corbie)
ε = Paris, BNF, MS Coislin 186 (seventh century, origin unknown; the Narbonnais 'gaulois' version)
ζ = Rome, Vatican, MS lat. 5359 (palimpsest seventh-eighth century psalter from Northern Italy)
η = Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 425 (351) and Paris, BNF, MS Nouv. acq. Lat. 1585 (fifth–sixth century, perhaps Lyon; a mixture of the 'gaulois' and Gallican Psalters)
* indicates the original reading of the manuscript and ² indicates a reading introduced by a later hand.

## *Deus deus meus*

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Deus deus meus respice in me<br><br>quare me dereliquisti | (no citations until verse 9) | 'Deus deus meus respice me' in α, β, γ, δ, η | 'Deus deus meus respice me' | 'deus meus respice me' in *Leo3* and *Den7*<br>'quare me derelinquisti' in *Fle1* |

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. Longe a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum [no variants] | | | | |
| 3. Deus meus clamabo per diem | | 'Deus meus clamabo ad te' in α and β | | |
| nec exaudies | | 'non exaudies' in η; 'et non exaudies' in β; 'ne exaudies' in δ*; 'nec exaudias' in ε* | 'et non exaudies' | 'nec exaudias' in *Den5* |
| et nocte et non | | 'in nocte et non' in PQ*VX | | 'in nocte et non' in *Orp* |
| ad insipientiam michi [no variants] | | | | |
| 4. Tu autem in sancto habitas laus israhel [no variants] | | | | |
| 5. In te sperauerunt patres nostril sperauerunt et liberasti eos [no variants] | | | | |
| 6. Ad te clamauerunt et salui facti sunt | | | | 'Ad te clameuerunt' in *Coc6* |
| in te sperauerunt et non sunt confusi | | | | 'sperauerunt' in *Coc6* |
| 7. Ego autem sum uermis et non homo obprobrium hominum et abiectio plebes [no variants] | | | | |
| 8. Omnes qui uidebant me | | | Omnes uidentes me | |
| aspernabantur me | | 'subsannabant me' in α, β, γ, 'deridebant me' in N*; 'deriserunt me' in $N^2$ | deriserunt me | |
| locuti sunt labiis | | 'et locuti sunt labiis' in γ, δ, ε, η; 'et locuti sunt in labiis' in α | | |
| et mouerunt caput | | | 'mouerunt caput' or 'et mouerunt caput' | |
| 9. Sperauit in domino eripiat eum | (citations begin here) | 'eripiet eum' in BCD; 'eruat eum' in α, β | | 'eripiam eum' in *Fle1* (copying error inspired by Quih v13) |
| saluum faciat eum quoniam uult eum | | 'saluum faciet eum' in M*BCD | occasionally 'saluum faciet eum' but usually 'saluum faciat eum' | 'saluum faciet eum' in *Lan*, *Cha1*, *Fle1* |

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. Ipsi uero considerauerunt et conspexerunt me | (not cited) | 'Ipsi uero considerauerunt me et conspexerunt me' in α, β; 'Ipsi uero considerauerunt et inspexerunt me' in ε, $\eta^2$ | Ipsi uero considerauerunt et inspexerunt me | |
| diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea | 'diuiderent sibi uestimenta mea' | | | |
| et super uestem meam miserunt sortem | 'et super uestimentum mitterunt sortem' | 'uestem meam' omitted in K*T* ('uestem meum' ($K^2$) and 'ueste mea ($T^2$) supplied); 'et super uestimentum meum' in α, γ, δ; 'et super ueste mea' in ε* | | |
| 11. Libera me de ore leonis | 'Dederunt fremitum sicut leo rapiens et rugiens' | 'Saluum me fac de ore leonis' in α, β; 'salua me ex ore leonis' in ζ, $\eta^2$ | Salva me ex ore leonis | |
| et a cornibus unicornuorum | (the rest of the verse is not cited by Arnobius) | 'et a cornibus unicornium' in δ | 'et a cornibus unicornium'. Rarely 'et a cornibus unicornorum/ unicornuorum' | 'et a cornibus unicornium' in *Lan* |
| humilitatem meam | [no variants] | | | |
| 12. Qui timetis dominum laudate eum | 'timentes dominum laudate eum' | | | |
| uniuersum semen Jacob magnificate eum | | 'uniuersum semen Jacob magnificet eum' in β; uniuersum semen Jacob glorificate eum' in ζ, $\eta^2$ | 'uniuersum semen Jacob magnificate/ glorificate eum' | |
| 13. Annunciabitur domino generatio uentura | 'ut adnuntiemus domino generationem uenturam' | | | |
| et annunciabunt celi iustitiam eius | 'Et adnuntiemus iustitiam dei fratribus ac filiis aetate' | 'annunciabunt' in γ, epsilon; 'et annunciabunt' in α, β, η | 'et annunciabunt' | |
| 14. Populo qui nascetur quem fecit dominus | 'et omni populo' | 'qui nascitur quem fecit dominus' in A*HMKT*, η*; 'qui nascetur quem fecit' in γ | 'qui nascetur/ nascitur quem fecit' | |

## *Domine audiui*

| TRACT TEXT | LATIN SEPTUAGINT TEXT IN AUGUSTINE COMMENTARY | LATIN SEPTUAGINT TEXT IN JEROME COMMENTARY | VULGATE TEXT, TAKEN FROM THE STUTTGART BIBLE | TRANSLATION OF VULGATE (DOUAY RHEIMS BIBLE) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Domine audiui auditum tuum et timui | Domine audiui auditionem tuam, et timui; | [as tract text] | Domine audiui auditionem tuam et timui | O Lord, I have heard thy hearing, and was afraid. |
| consideraui opera tua et expaui. | Domine, consideraui opera tua, et expaui. | Domine, consideraui opera tua et obstupui. | v. Domine, opus tuum | O Lord, thy work |
| 2. In medio duorum animalium innotesceris dum appropinquauerint anni cognosceris | In medio duorum[1] animalium cognosceris dum appropinquant[2] anni, nosceris[3] | in medio duorum animalium cognosceris cum appropinquauerunt anni cognosceris | in medio annorum vivifica illud<br>v. In medio annorum notum facies | in the midst of the years bring it to life<br>in the midst of the years thou shalt make it known: |
| dum aduenerit tempus ostenderis. | in aduentu temporis ostenderis | cum aduenerit tempus demonstraberis | [no equivalent text] | |
| 3. In eo dum conturbata fuerit anima mea | In eo cum[4] turbata[5] fuerit anima mea | cum turbata fuerit anima mea | [no equivalent text] | |
| in ira misericordie memor eris | in ira misericordiae memor eris | in ira misericordiae recordaberis | cum iratus fueris misericordiae recordaberis/ recordaueris | When thou art angry, thou wilt remember mercy |
| 4. Deus a libano ueniet et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso | Deus de Theman ueniet et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso. | Deus a Theman ueniet et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso | v. Deus ab austro veniet et sanctus de monte Pharan | God will come from the south and the holy one from Mount Pharan |
| 5. Operuit celos maiestas eius | Operuit caelos uirtus eius, | Operuit celos gloria eius | v. Operuit celos gloria eius | His glory covered the heavens |
| et laudis eius plena est terra | et laudis eius plena est terra | et laudis eius plena est terra | et[6] laudis eius plena est terra | and the earth is full of his praise |

1 'duum' only in the eleventh-century Berne, MS 12–13: see CCSL 47–8.

2 'appropinquauerint' in the tenth-century Paris, BNF, lat. 2050 and BNF, lat. 11638.

3 'nosceris' in the tenth-century Paris, BNF, lat. 11638, BNF, lat. 12215 (from Corbie), Monacensis Lat. 6259 and Monacensis Lat. 3831, the ninth-century Monacensis 6267 and Saint Gall, MS 178; 'cognosceris' in the tenth-century Paris, BNF, lat. 2050, BNF lat. 2051, and the eleventh-century Berne, MS 12–13 (and some later sources).

4 'dum' only in the eleventh-century Berne, MS 12–13.

5 'turbata' in the tenth-century Monacensis Lat. 6259, Paris, BNF lat. 2051, BNF, lat. 11638, BNF, lat. 12215, and the ninth-century Saint Gall MS 178. 'conturbata' in the tenth-century Monacensis Lat. 3831 and Paris, BNF, lat. 2050, the ninth-century Monacensis 6267, and the eleventh-century Berne, MS 12–13.

6 'et' sometimes omitted

## *Domine exaudi*

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Domine exaudi | (not quoted) | 'Exaudi domine' in α, γ | | |
| orationem meam: | (not quoted) | | | 'oratio meam' in *Rei5* |
| et clamor meus ad te ueniat | 'et clamor meus ad te perueniat' | 'et clamor meus ad te perueniat'; 'et clamor meus ad te ueniat' in δ | 'et clamor meus ad te ueniat' | |
| 2. Non auertas | 'Ne avertas' | Usually 'Ne auertas'; 'Non auertas' in KT*, δ | 'Non auertas' | 'Ne auertas' in *Leo3*, *Gal1* |
| faciem tuam a me in quacumque die tribulor [no variants] | | | | |
| inclina ad me aurem tuam | (not quoted) | 'inclina aurem tuam ad me' in α, γ, δ | | Omitted in *Coc6* |
| 3. In quacumque die inuocauero te | (this verse not quoted) | | | Omitted in *Coc6* |
| uelociter exaudi me | | 'uelociter exaudi me domine' in γ | | 'uelociter exaudi me domine' in *Orc*, *Orj*, *Orp* |
| 4. Quia defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei: et ossa mea [no variants] | | | | |
| sicut in frixorio confrixa sunt | 'sicut frixorium . . .confrixa sunt' | in frixorio omitted in H*, in frixurio in B, in frixorium in AH², in frixoria in U*V, frixorio S*. confixa in K not confrixa; 'sicut frictorium confricta sunt' in δ; 'sicut in frictorium confricta sunt' in γ | 'sicut gremium aruerunt' | 'sicut in fixorio confixa sunt' in *Cha1*, *Fle1*, *Lan.* |
| 5. Percussus sum | 'Percussus sum' | 'Percussum est' in α, γ, δ | 'Percussum est'/ 'percussum'/ 'percussus sum' | 'Percussum' in *Coc6*, *Aki5* |
| sicut fenum | 'sicut fenum' | | 'ut faenum' | |
| et aruit cor meum [no variants] | | | | |
| quia oblitus sum | '. . .[et propter hoc] oblitus sum' | 'quoniam oblitus sum' in α, γ | | 'oblitus' is corrected from 'oblatus' in *Aki5* |
| manducare panem meum | 'manducare panem' | | 'comedere panem meum' | |

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. Tu exurgens domine misereberis Sion | 'Tu domine exurgens miserearis Sion' | 'Tu exurgens misereberis Sion.' 'Tu exurgens domine misereberis Sion' in SBCD | 'Tu exurgens misereberis Sion' | |
| quia uenit tempus | 'uenit enim tempus' | 'quoniam uenit tempus' in α, γ, δ; 'quia ueniet tempus' in ζ | 'quia tempus' | 'quia uenit tempus quia tempus uenit' in *Orc, Orj, Orp* |
| miserendi eius | 'ut uenias et miserearis Sion' | | 'miserendi eius quia uenit tempus' | |

## *Qui habitat*

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi | | 'in adiutorium altissimi' in α and δ | | 'in adjutorium altissimi' in *Leo3* |
| in protectione dei celi commorabitur | 'et in protectione dei celi commorabitur' | | | |
| 2. Dicet domino | 'et dicet domino' | 'Dicit domino' in HMS γ | | |
| susceptor meus es | | 'susceptor meus es tu' in PQRUVX α γ δ | 'susceptor meus es tu' | |
| et refugium meum deus meus | 'deus meus' omitted | | | 'et refugium meum deus meus' *Den5* |
| sperabo in eum | [no variants] | | | |
| 3. Quoniam ipse | 'qui ipse' | | | |
| liberauit me | 'liberabit me' | 'liberabit me' in $A^2N^*KT^*U$ | 'liberabit me' or 'liberauit me' | 'liberabit me' in *Den5* |
| de laqueo uenantium et a uerbo aspero | 'de laqueo et a uerbo aspero' | | | |

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Scapulis suis | 'In scapulis suis' | 'Inter scapulas suas' in α; 'Inter scapulis suis' in γ and δ | 'In scapulis suis' | 'Sapulis suis' in *Cha1* (copying error) |
| obumbrabit tibi | 'obumbrabit te' | 'obumbrauit tibi' in HMN²SB*VX, α, γ, δ | 'obumbrabit' or 'obumbrauit'; 'te' or 'tibi'. | 'obumbrauit tibi' in Monza, Compiègne, *Aki5*, *Fle1*, *Orp*, *Orj*, *Orc* |
| et sub pennis eius | | 'et sub pinnis eius'; 'et subpennis eius' in γ and in commentaries by Cassiodorus and Jerome (according to Vetus Latin database) | 'et sub pinnis eius' | |
| sperabis | | | | |
| 5. Scuto circumdabit te ueritas eius [no variants] | | | | |
| non timebis a timore nocturno | 'ut non timeamus a timore nocturno' | | | |
| 6. A sagitta uolante per diem | 'cuius sagitta volat per diem' | | 'A sagitta uolante in die' ('in diem' and 'per diem' are very rare variants) | 'A sagitta uolantem per diem' in *Aki5* |
| a negotio perambulante in tenebris | '. . .huius negotium in tenebris perpetratur' | | | 'a negotio perambulantem in tenebris' in *Mon6*, *Coc6*, *Fle1*, 'an nogotio perambulatem In tenebris' in *Aki5* |
| a ruina et demonio meridiano | 'aut in ruina aut in demonio meridiano perficetur' | | 'ab incurso et demonio meridiano' | |
| 7. Cadent a latere tuo mille [no variants] | | | | |
| et decem milia | | 'et decim milia' HN*KC*; 'et dena milia' in α and γ | | |
| a dextris tuis | 'a dextris suis' | | | 'dextris tuis' in *Lan* |
| tibi autem | (extensive commentary; no paraphrase of remainder of verse) | | 'ad te autem' | |

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| non appropinquabit | | Very varied; the tract text appears in Italian and north-east Frankish Roman psalters[1] | 'non adpropinquabit' or 'non adpropinquauit' | 'non adpropinquauit' in *Mon6*, *Coc6*, *Cor3*, *Fle1*, *Orp*, *Orj* |
| 8. Quoniam angelis suis mandauit de te | '. . .angelis suis mandate de nobis' | 'Quoniam angelis suis mandabit de te' in $A^2XD^2$ α, δ | 'Quoniam angelis suis mandabit/mandauit de te' | |
| ut custodiant te in omnibus uiis tuis | 'ut custodiant nos in omnibus uiis nostris' | | | 'ut custodiam te in omnibus uiis tuis' in *Mon6*, *Coc6*, *Fle1*, *Cha1*, *Aki5* |
| 9. In manibus portabunt te | (this verse not paraphrased) | | | 'In manibus portabunte' in *Fle1*, *Cor3* (copying error) |
| ne umquam offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum | | 'ne quando offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum' in α, γ, δ | 'ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum' | |
| 10. Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis | 'super aspidem et basiliscum ambulemus' | | | |
| et conculcabis | 'conculcare possimus' | | | |
| leonem et draconem | 'et leonem et draconem' | | | |
| 11. Quoniam in me sperauit | | 'Quoniam in me sperabit' in $A^2N^*$, δ, ζ | occasionally 'Quoniam in me sperabit' | 'Quoniam in me sperabit' in *Den5*, *Cha1* |
| liberabo eum | | 'liberabo eum' in $N^2ST^2BCDPQRUVX$; otherwise 'et liberabo eum' | 'et liberabo eum' | |
| protegam eum quoniam cognouit nomen meum | | | 'quia/quoniam cognouit nomen meum' | 'quoniam cognoui nomen meum' in *Lan* |

1 'adpropiabit' in $A^2$, N; 'appropiabit' in CD, 'adpropiabunt' in MKB, 'adpropriauit' in A*, H, γ, 'appropinquabit' in PQRV, 'adpropinquauit' in S, 'a(d)propinquabunt' in TUX, α.

| TRACT TEXT | ARNOBIUS | ROMAN AND OLD LATIN PSALTER VARIANTS | GALLICAN PSALTER VARIANTS | TRACT TEXT VARIANTS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. Inuocauit me | | 'Inuocabit me' in A2, N*, DQUVX, ζ; otherwise 'Inuocauit me' | 'Clamabit/Clamauit ad me' | 'Inuocabit me' in *Gal1*, *Den5*, 'Inuocabis me' in *Orj* |
| et ego exaudiam eum cum ipso sum in tribulatione | 'ego exaudiam eum' | | 'et exaudiam eum' | |
| 13. Eripiam eum et glorificabo eum | [no variants] | | 'et clarificabo/glorificabo eum' | |
| longitudinem | 'longitudine' | Usually 'Longitudine'; 'Longitudinem' in AS*BDV, α, γ, δ | 'longitudine/ longitudinem' | 'Longitudine' in *Gal1*, *Lan*; m erased in *Cha1*, *Eli* |
| dierum adimplebo eum | | 'dierum inplebo eum' in γ and δ; 'dierum replebo eum' in α. | 'dierum replebo eum' | |
| et ostendam illi | | | | 'et ostendam' in *Cor3* |
| salutare meum | | 'salutarem meum' in α, γ, δ | | 'salutarem meum' in *Mon6* |

## *Eripe me*

| TRACT TEXT | ROMAN PSALTER | GALLICAN PSALTER | GAULOIS TRADITIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Eripe me domine ab homine malo | | | 'Libera me domine' in α |
| a uiro iniquo | | | 'a uiro iniusto' in α |
| libera me | | eripe me | 'erue me' in α |
| 2. Qui cogitauerunt malitias in corde tota die | | iniquitates in corde | 'iniustitias in corde' in α, δ, η |
| constituebant proelia | | | 'constituerunt proelia' in δ; 'ordinabunt proelia' in ζ; 'ordinabunt bella' in η; 'constituebant bella in α |
| 3. Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes | | linguam suam sicut serpentis[1] | 'linguam suam sicut serpentes' in α |
| uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum | [no variants] | | |

1 'linguas suas' is a rare reading, as is 'serpentes'

| TRACT TEXT | ROMAN PSALTER | GALLICAN PSALTER | GAULOIS TRADITIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Custodi me domine | | | 'Conserua me domine' in α, η; 'Libera me domine et custodi' in γ |
| de manu peccatoris | | | |
| et ab hominibus iniquis[2] | | ab hominibus iniquis | 'et ab homine iniquo' in δ, η; 'ab hominibus iniustis' in α |
| libera me | | eripe me | |
| 5. Qui cogitauerunt subplantare | | | 'Quia cogitauerunt subplantere' in ζ |
| gressus meos | | | 'gressos meos' in γ |
| absconderunt superbi | | | |
| laqueos/laqueum mihi | laqueos mihi | laqueum mihi | 'laqueum mihi' in γ, δ; 'muscipula mihi' in α |
| 6. Et funes | | | 'Et restes' in α |
| extenderunt in laqueum pedibus meis | | extenderunt in laqueum | 'extenderunt in muscipula pedibus meis' in α; 'extenderunt in laqueua pedibus meis' in δ |
| iuxta iter scandalum | | | 'iuxta semita scandalum' in α; 'semitae proxima scandalum' in γ |
| posuerunt michi | | | |
| 7. Dixi domino | | | 'Dixi domine' in α |
| deus meus es tu | | | |
| exaudi domine | | | 'auribus percipe' in α |
| uocem orationis meae | | uocem deprecationis meae | 'uocem deprecationis meae' in α |
| 8. Domine domine | | | 'Domine deus' in δ' 'Domine' in γ |
| uirtus salutis meae | | | |
| obumbra caput meum | | obumbrasti super caput meum | 'obumbrasti super caput meum' in α, γ, δ, ζ |
| in die belli | | | |
| 9. Ne tradas me | | Non tradas domine[3] | 'Non tradas domine' in γ; 'Ne tradas me domine' in α, δ |
| a desiderio meo peccatori | | desiderio meo peccatori | 'desiderium meum peccatori' in γ; 'a desiderio meo peccati' in α |
| cogitauerunt aduersum me ne derelinquas me | | cogitauerunt contra me ne derelinquas me | 'cogitauerunt aduersus me ne derelinquas me' in α, ζ; 'cogitauerunt non tradas me' in γ |
| ne umquam exaltentur | | ne forte exaltentur | 'ne forte exaltentur' in α; ne forte exultentur' in δ; 'ne umquam exaltetur' in ζ |

2 'iniquos' corrected to 'iniquis' in *Gal1*.
3 'ne' is a rare reading.

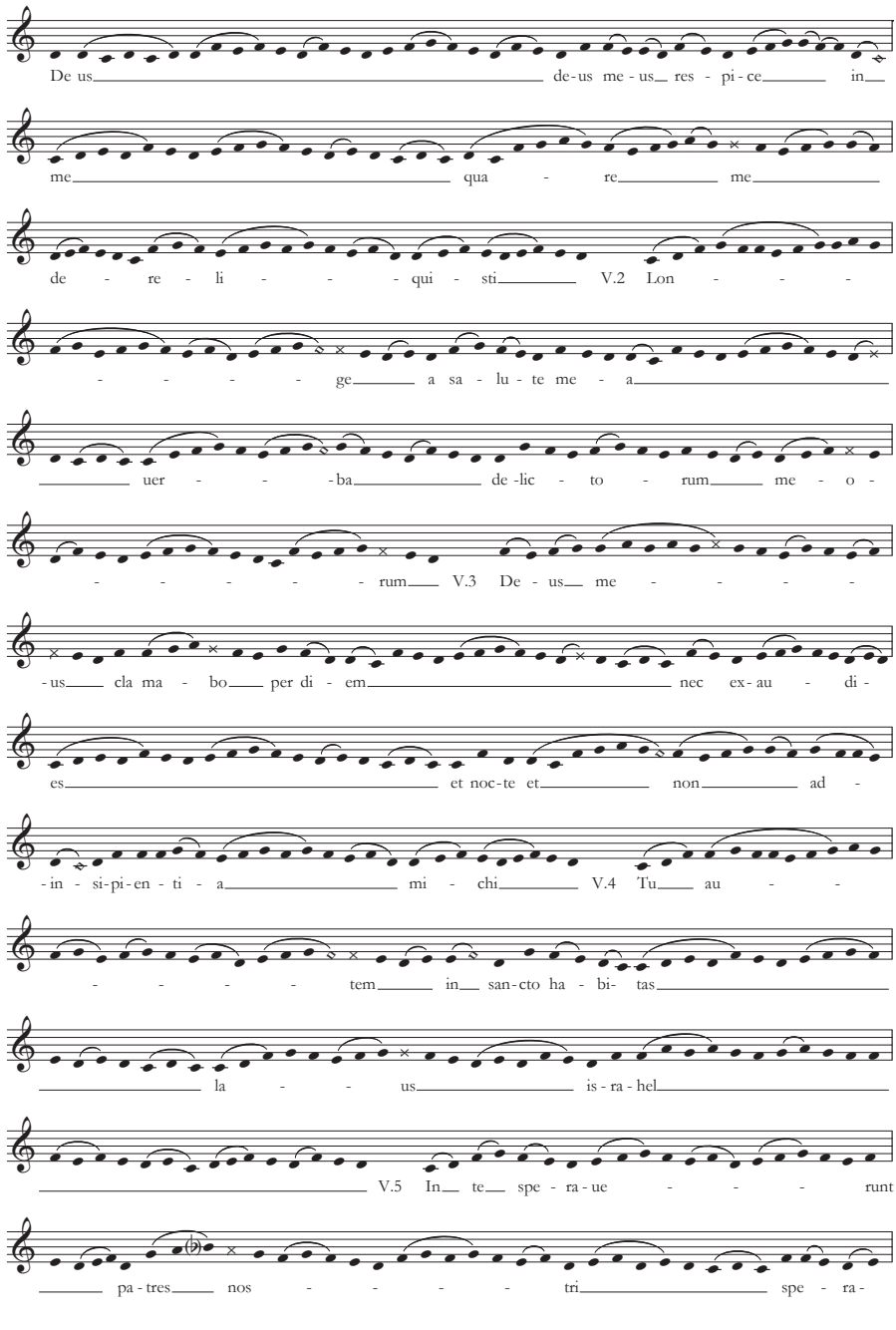
| TRACT TEXT | ROMAN PSALTER | GALLICAN PSALTER | GAULOIS TRADITIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10. Caput | | | |
| circuitus eorum | | | 'circuitus illorum' in α |
| labor labiorum ipsorum | | | 'labor sermo ipsorum' in ζ; 'labor laborum ipsorum' in γ |
| operiet eos | | | 'teges eos' in α |
| 11. Verumtamen iusti | | | 'Attamen iusti' in δ; 'Et tamen iusti' in γ |
| confitebuntur nomini tuo | | | 'confitebuntur nomine tuo' in δ |
| et habitabunt recti | | habitabunt recti | 'et habitabo recti' in ζ; 'et inhabitabunt recti' in α |
| cum vultu tuo | | | 'cum vultum tuum' in ζ; 'cum facie tua' in δ |

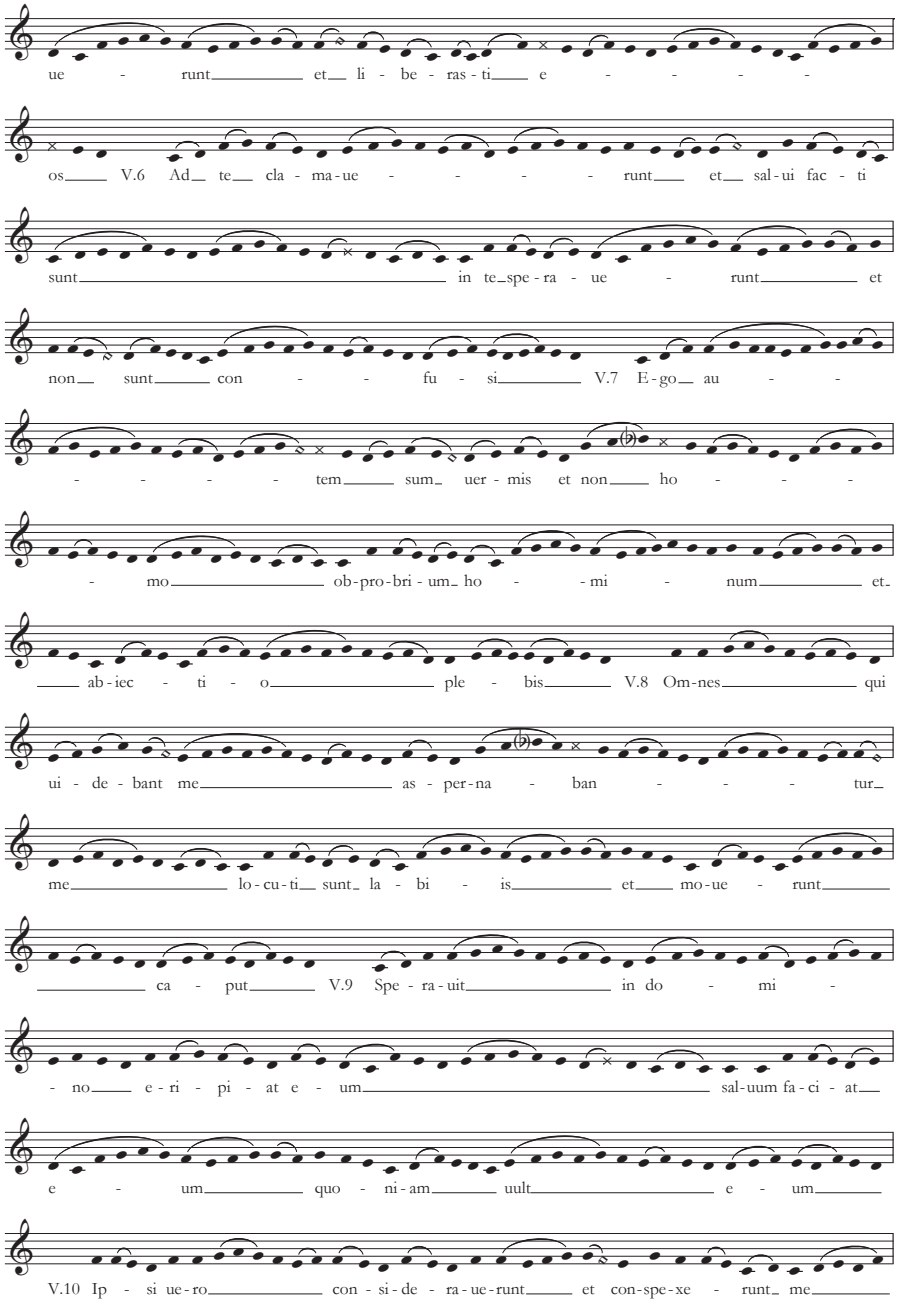
APPENDIX 6

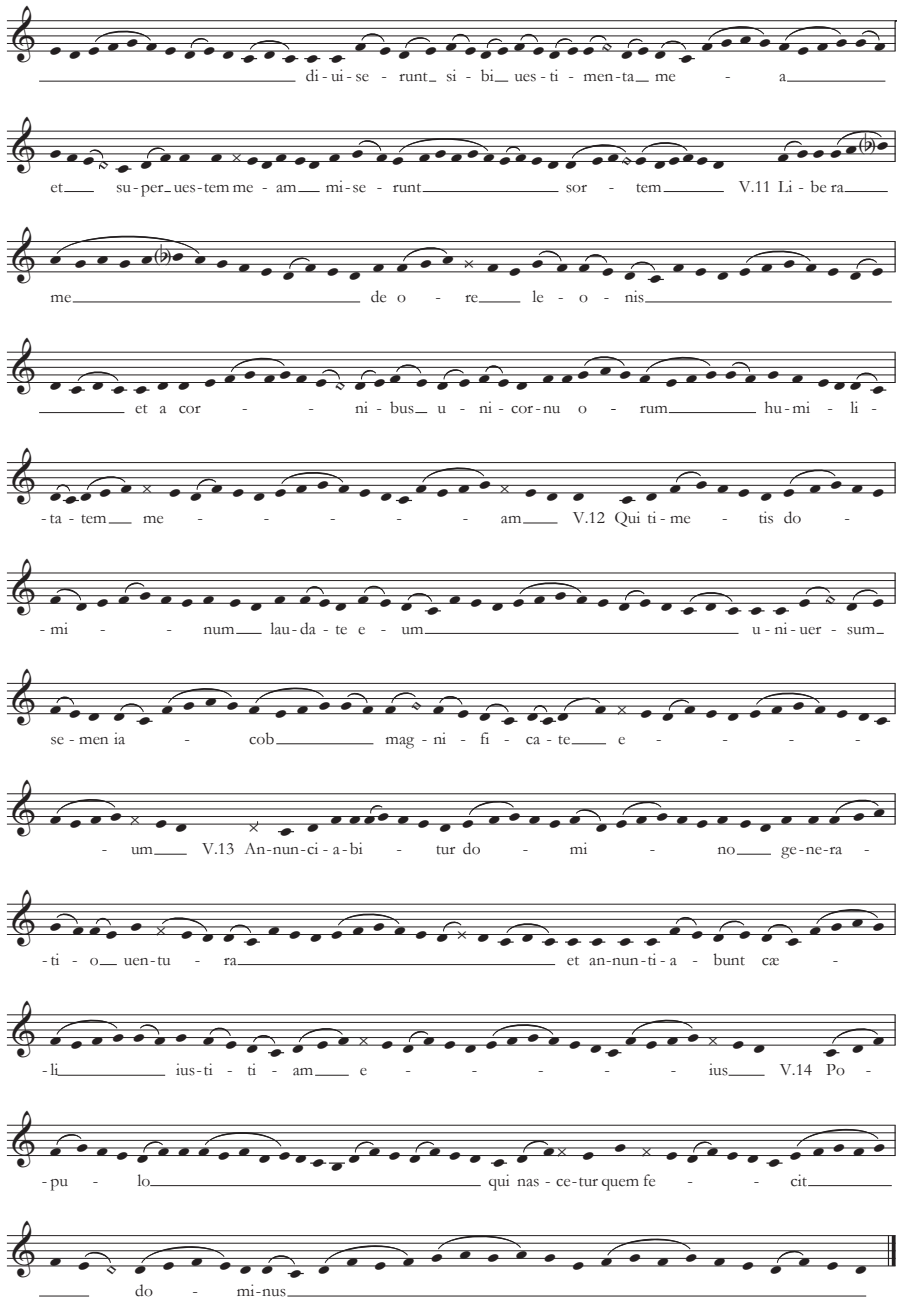
# TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHANTS DISCUSSED IN THIS STUDY

All transcriptions are from *Fle1* (with pitches supplied from *Cha3*) or *Orc*, unless otherwise indicated.

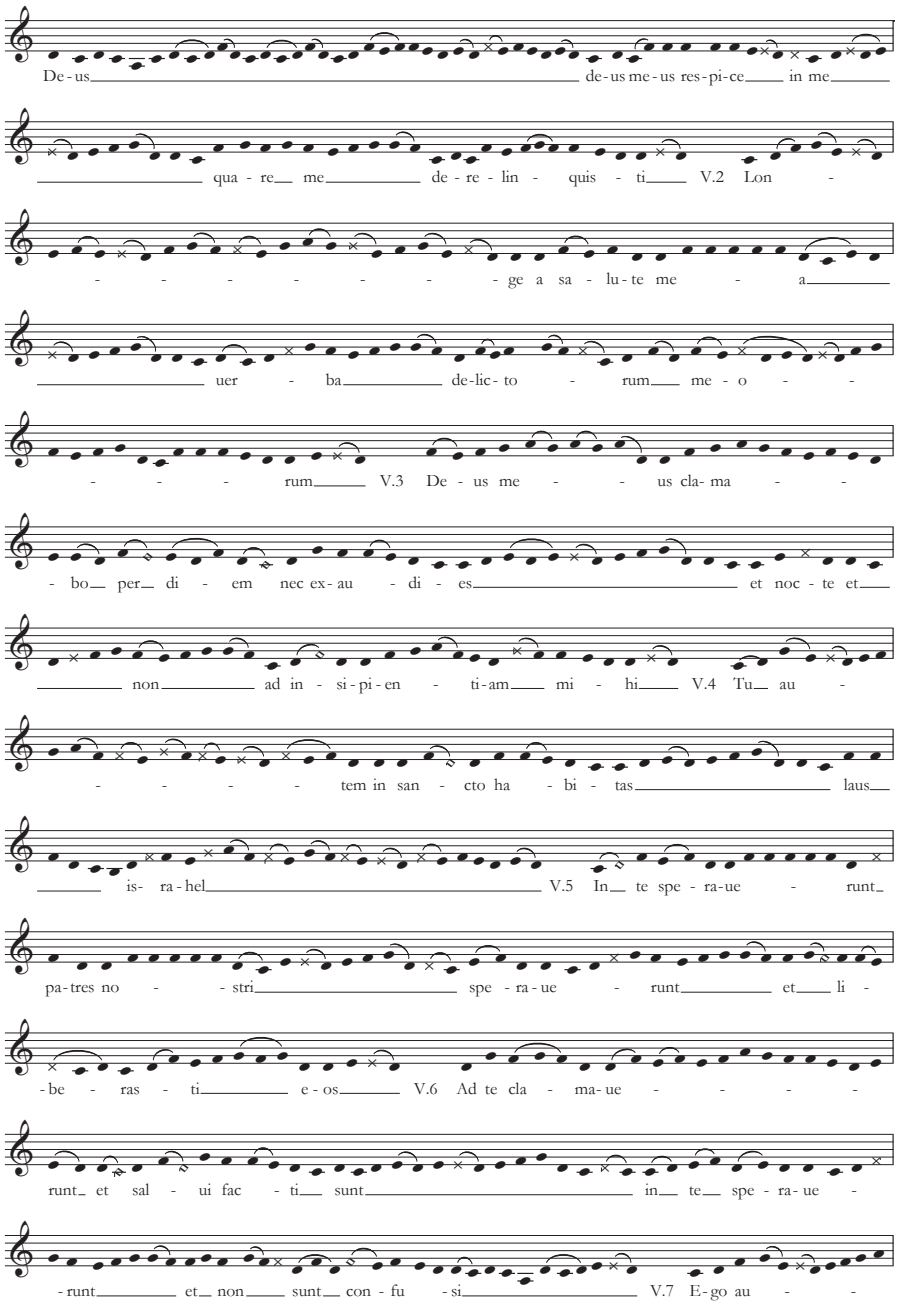
## Old Roman *Deus deus meus*

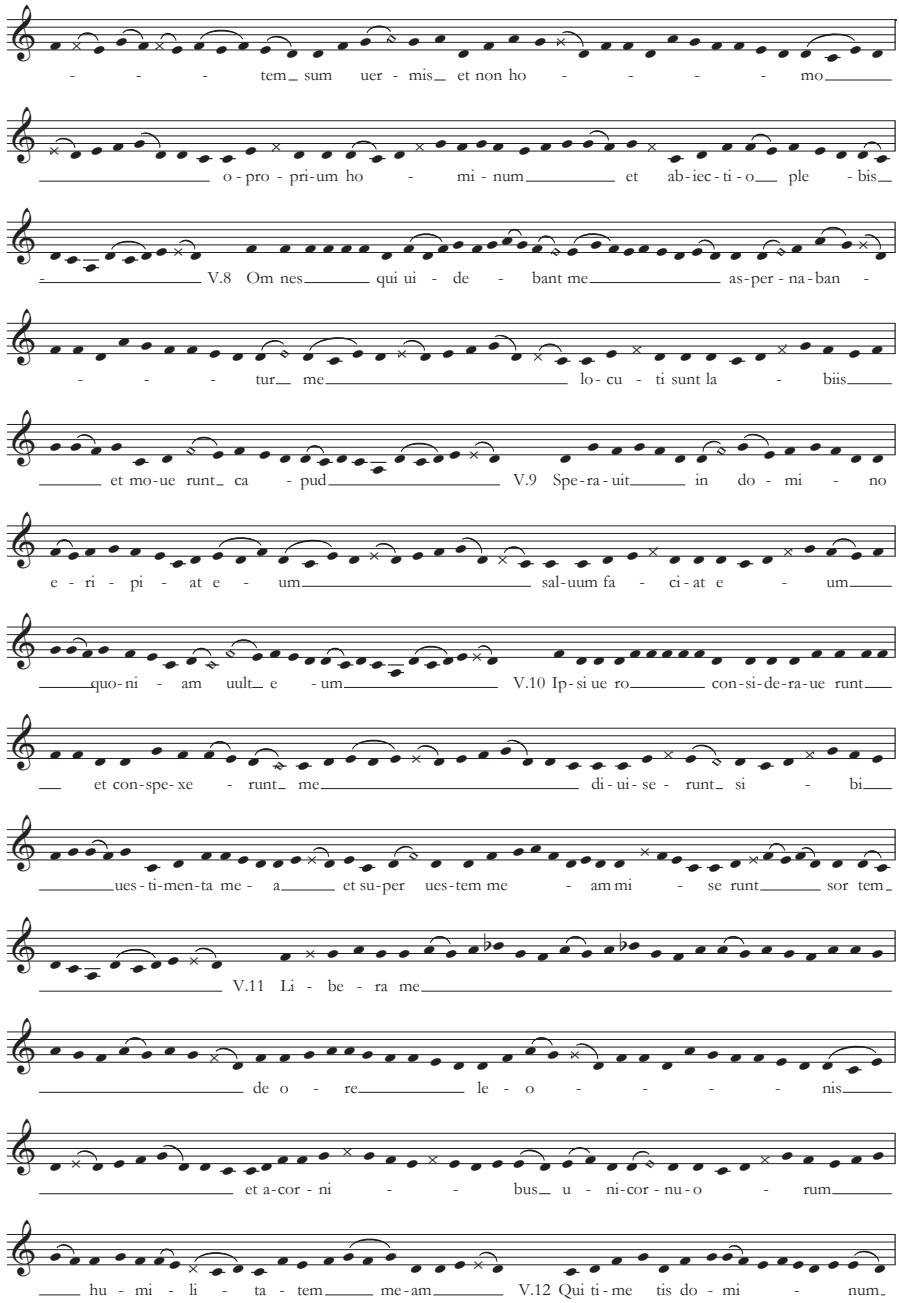


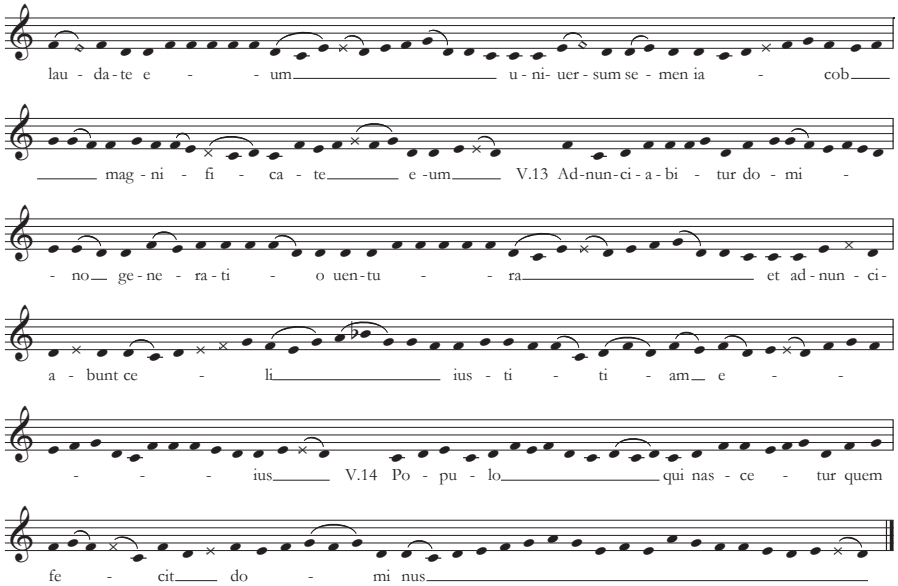

ue - runt et li - be - ras - ti e
os V.6 Ad te cla - ma - ue runt et sal - ui fac - ti
sunt in te spe - ra - ue runt et
non sunt con fu - si V.7 E - go au
tem sum uer - mis et non ho
- mo ob - pro - bri - um ho - mi - num et
ab - iec - ti - o ple - bis V.8 Om - nes qui
ui - de - bant me as - per - na - ban - tur
me lo - cu - ti sunt la - bi - is et mo - ue - runt
ca - put V.9 Spe - ra - uit in do - mi -
- no e - ri - pi - at e - um sal - uum fa - ci - at
e - um quo - ni - am uult e - um
V.10 Ip - si ue - ro con - si - de - ra - ue - runt et con - spe - xe - runt me


di-ui-se-runt si-bi ues-ti-men-ta me-a
et su-per-ues-tem me-am mi-se-runt sor-tem V.11 Li-be-ra
me de o-re le-o-nis
et a cor-ni-bus u-ni-cor-nu o-rum hu-mi-li-
-ta-tem me-am V.12 Qui ti-me-tis do-
-mi-num lau-da-te e-um u-ni-uer-sum
se-men ia-cob mag-ni-fi-ca-te e-
-um V.13 An-nun-ci-a-bi-tur do-mi-no ge-ne-ra-
-ti-o uen-tu-ra et an-nun-ti-a-bunt cæ-
-li ius-ti-ti-am e-ius V.14 Po-
-pu-lo qui nas-ce-tur quem fe-cit
do-mi-nus

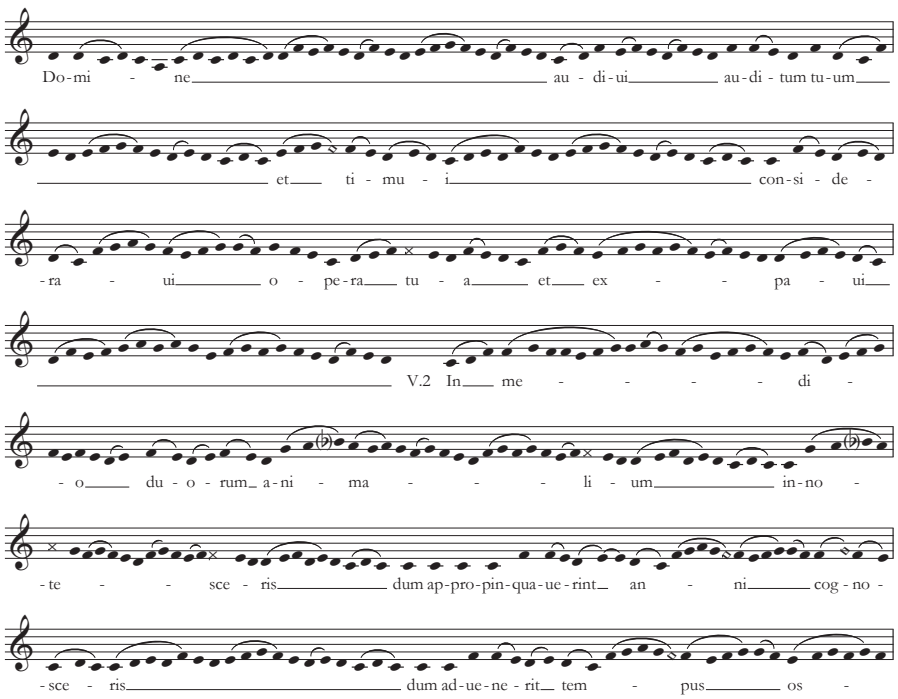
# Romano-Frankish *Deus deus meus*

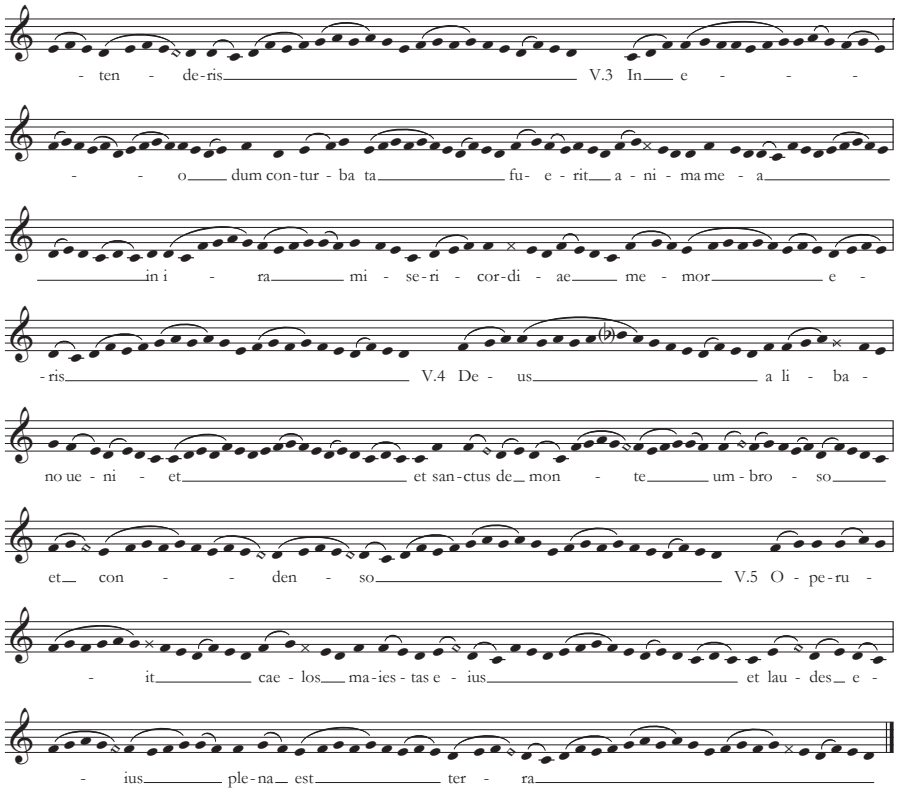



- - - tem_ sum uer - mis_ et non ho - - - - - mo
o - pro - pri-um ho - mi - num et ab-iec - ti - o_ ple - bis_
V.8 Om nes qui ui - de - bant me as-per - na-ban -
- - - tur_ me lo- cu - ti sunt la - biis
et mo-ue runt_ ca - pud V.9 Spe-ra - uit in do - mi - no
e - ri - pi - at e - um sal-uum fa - ci-at e - um
quo-ni - am uult_ e - um V.10 Ip-si ue ro con-si-de-ra-ue runt
et con-spe-xe - runt_ me di-ui-se - runt_ si - bi
ues-ti-men-ta me - a et su-per ues-tem me - am mi - se runt sor tem_
V.11 Li - be - ra me
de o - re le - o - - - - - nis
et a-cor - ni - - bus_ u - ni-cor - nu-o - rum
hu - mi - li - ta - tem me-am V.12 Qui ti-me tis do - mi - num_

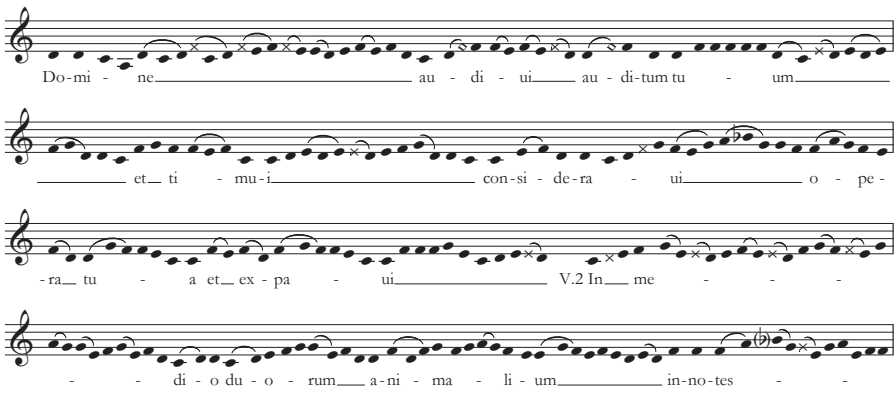


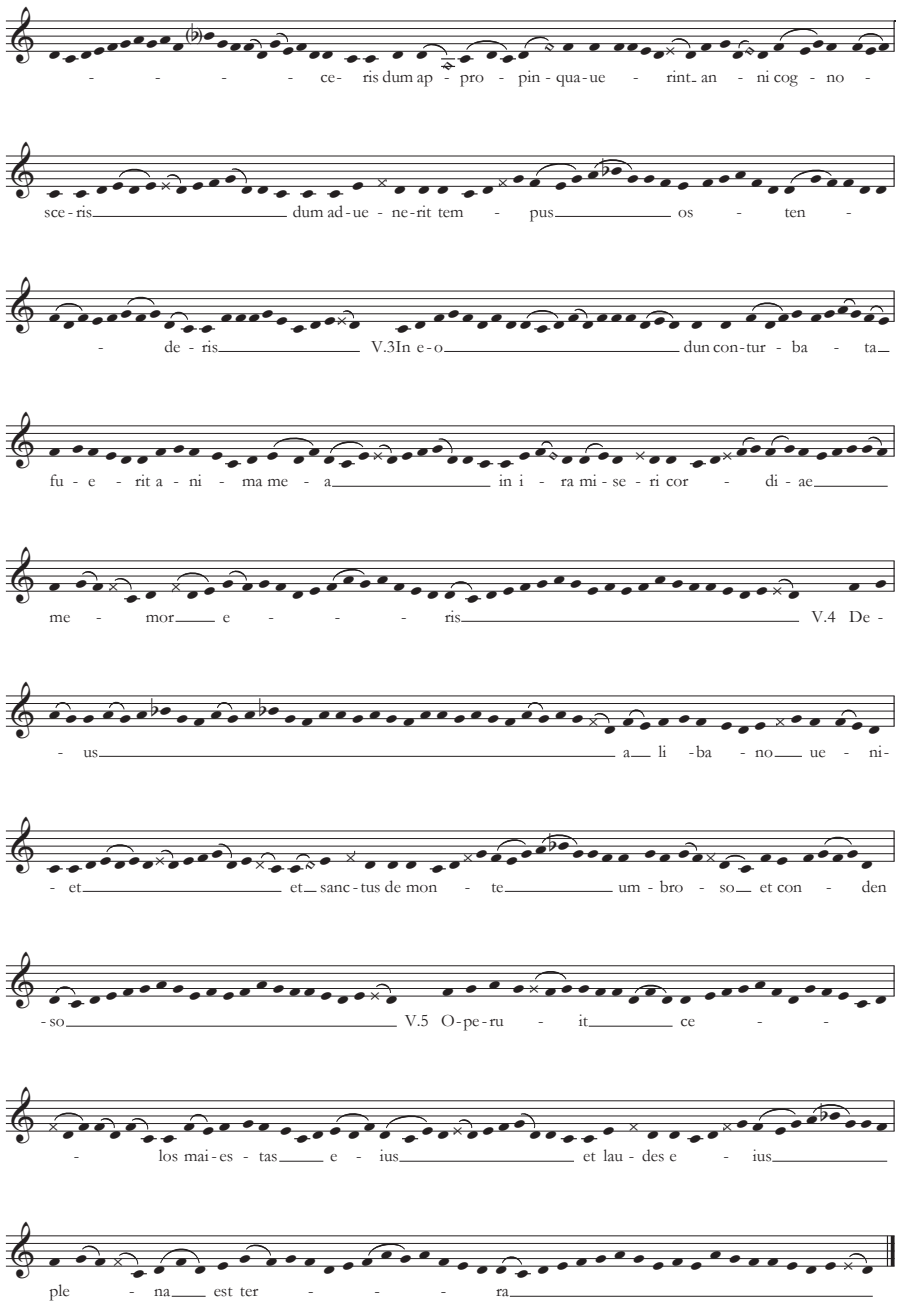

## Old Roman *Domine audiui*



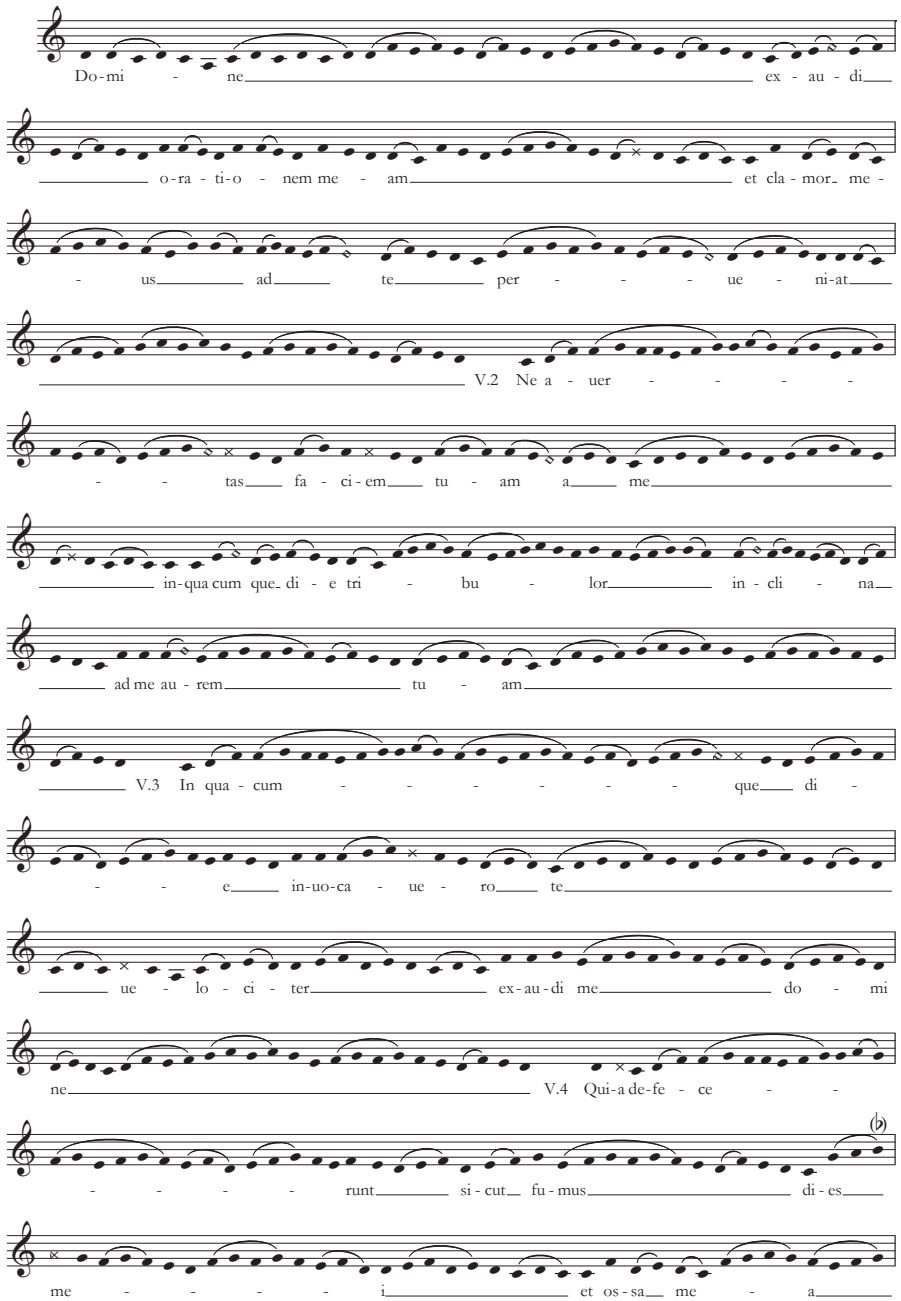


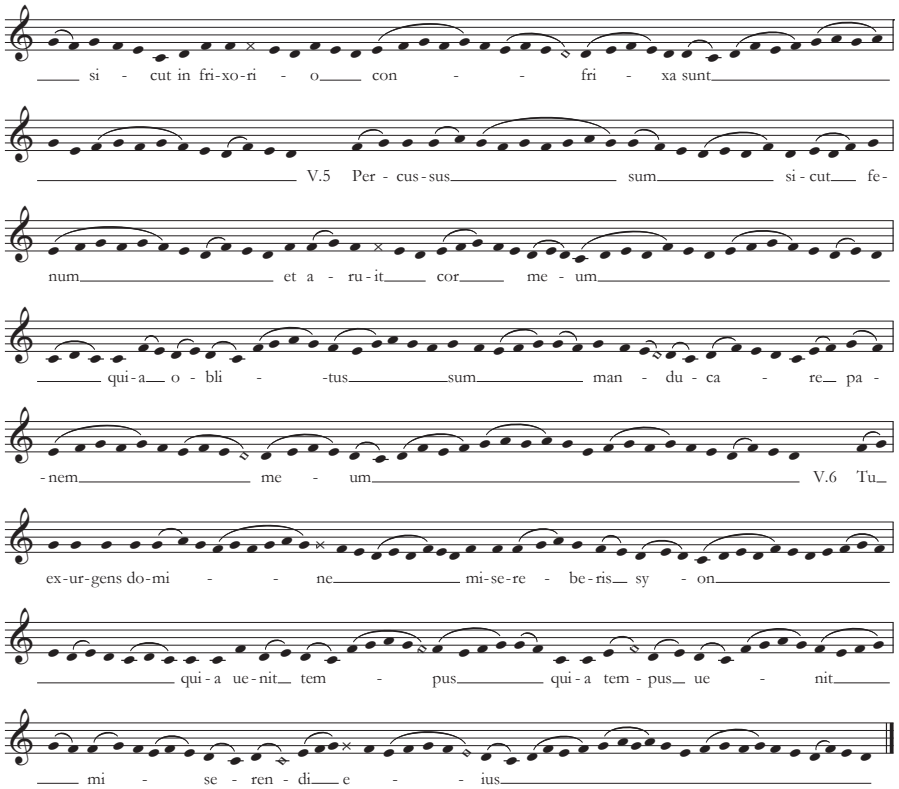

## Romano-Frankish *Domine audiui*



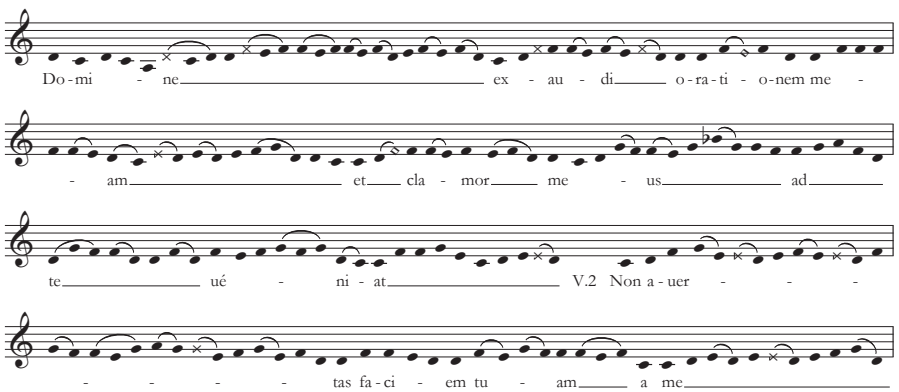

- - - - ce- ris dum ap - pro - pin - qua-ue - rint an - ni cog - no -
sce - ris dum ad - ue - ne - rit tem - pus os - ten -
- de - ris V.3In e - o dun con - tur - ba - ta
fu - e - rit a - ni - ma me - a in i - ra mi - se - ri cor - di - ae
me - mor e - - - ris V.4 De -
- us a li - ba - no ue - ni -
- et et sanc - tus de mon - te um - bro - so et con - den
- so V.5 O - pe - ru - it ce - -
- los mai - es - tas e - ius et lau - des e - ius
ple - na est ter - - - ra

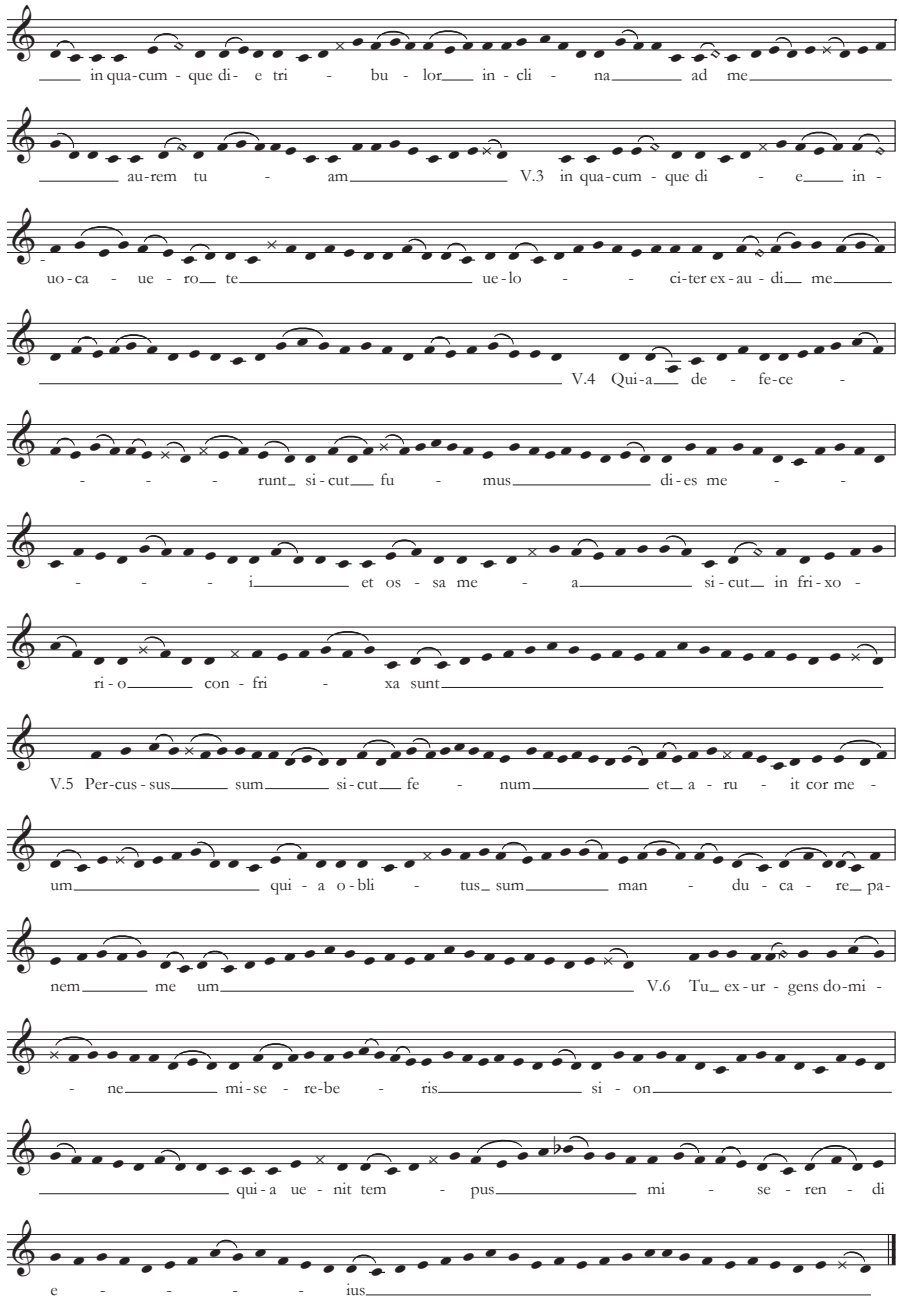
## Old Roman *Domine exaudi*



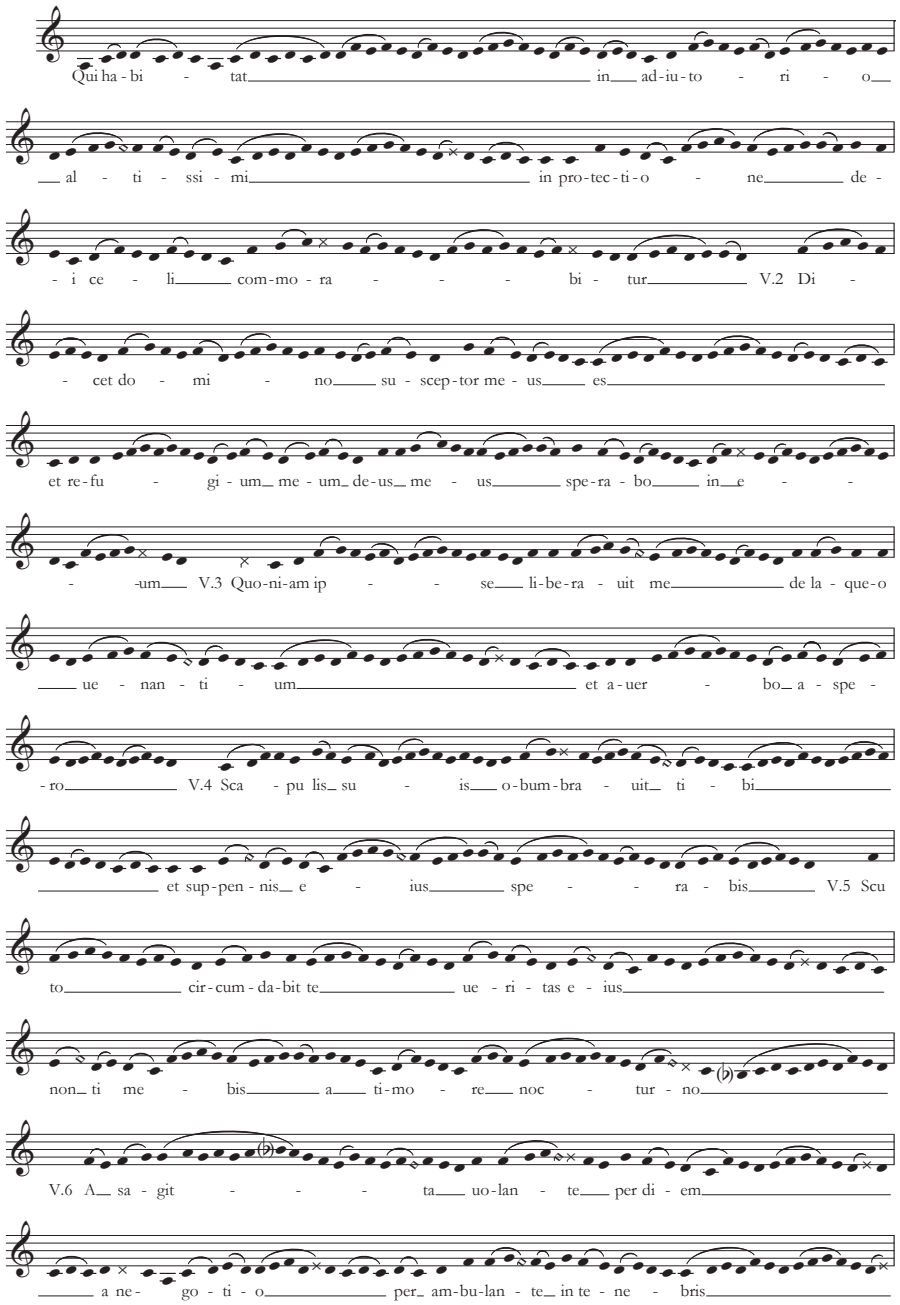


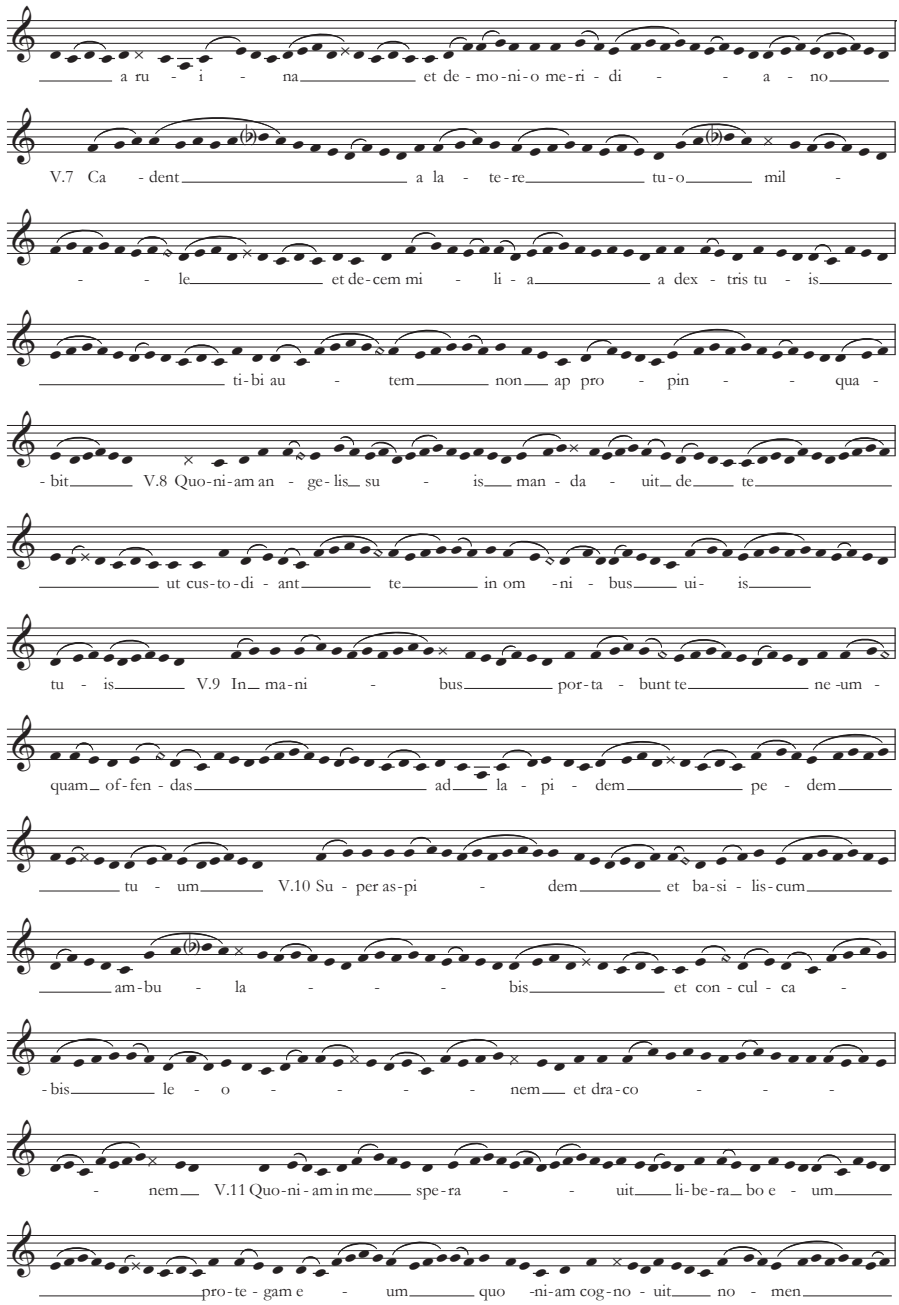

## Romano-Frankish *Domine exaudi*

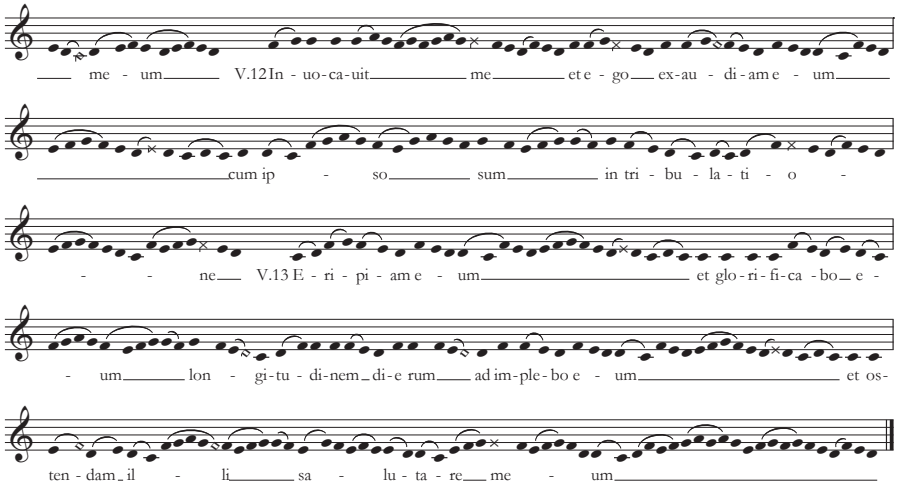



in qua-cum - que di- e tri - bu - lor in - cli - na ad me
au-rem tu - am V.3 in qua-cum - que di - e in -
uo-ca - ue - ro te ue-lo - - ci-ter ex-au - di me
V.4 Qui-a de - fe-ce -
- - - runt si-cut fu - mus di-es me - -
- - - i et os - sa me - a si-cut in fri-xo -
ri-o con - fri - xa sunt
V.5 Per-cus-sus sum si-cut fe - num et a - ru - it cor me -
um qui - a o-bli - tus sum man - du - ca - re pa-
nem me um V.6 Tu ex-ur - gens do-mi -
- ne mi-se - re-be - ris si - on
qui-a ue - nit tem - pus mi - se - ren - di
e - - - - - ius

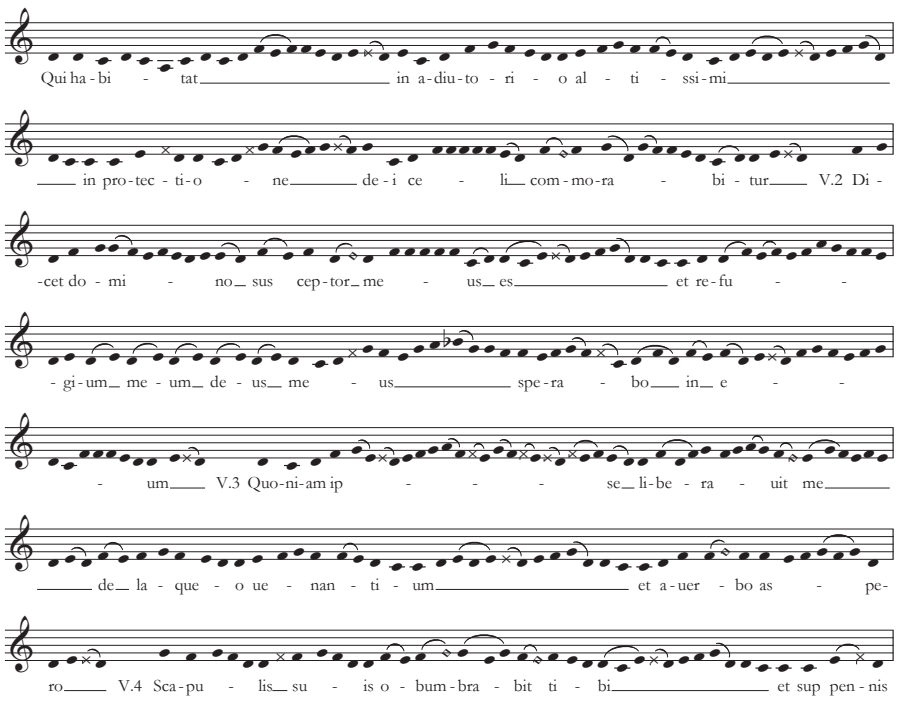
# Old Roman *Qui habitat*

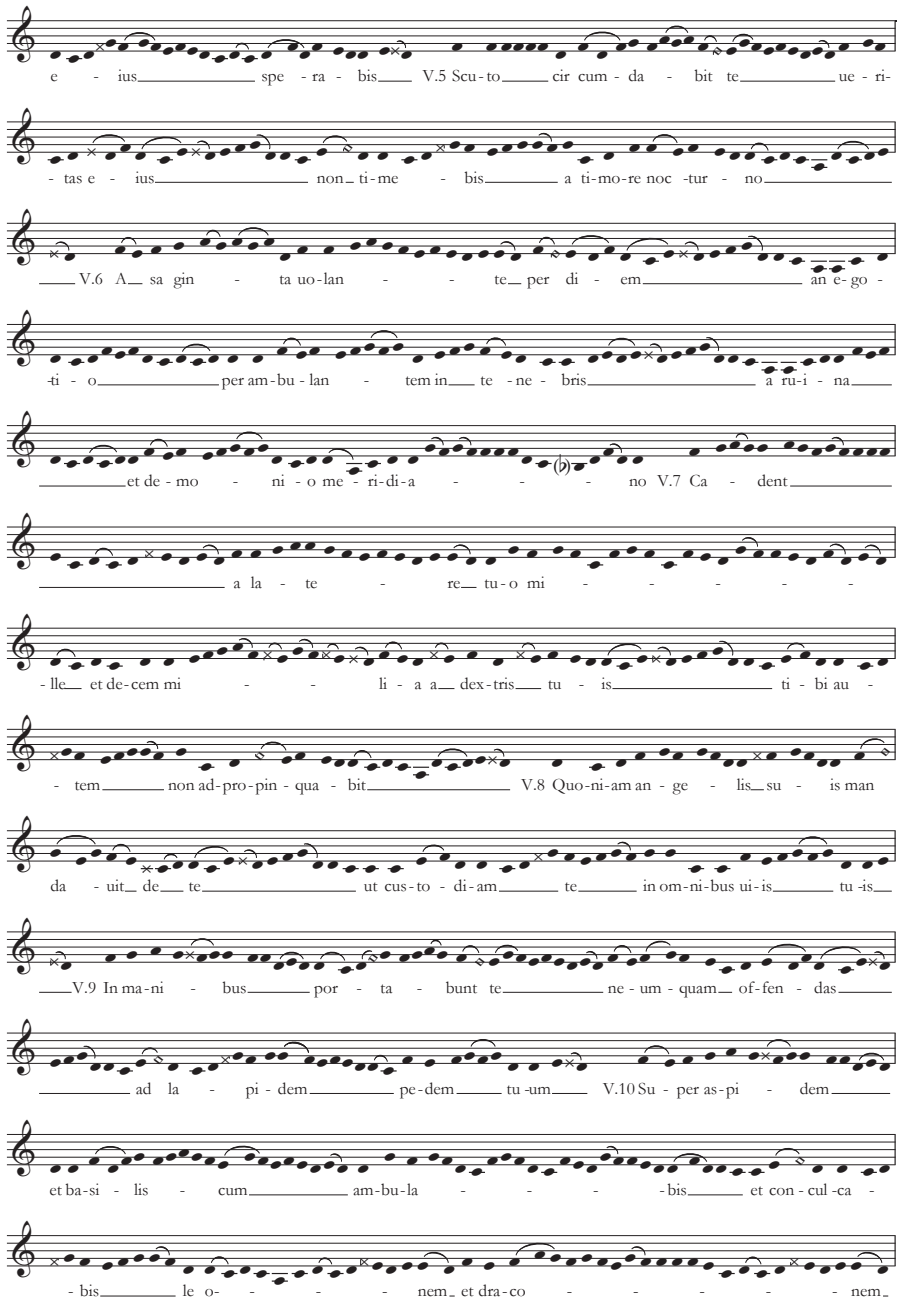


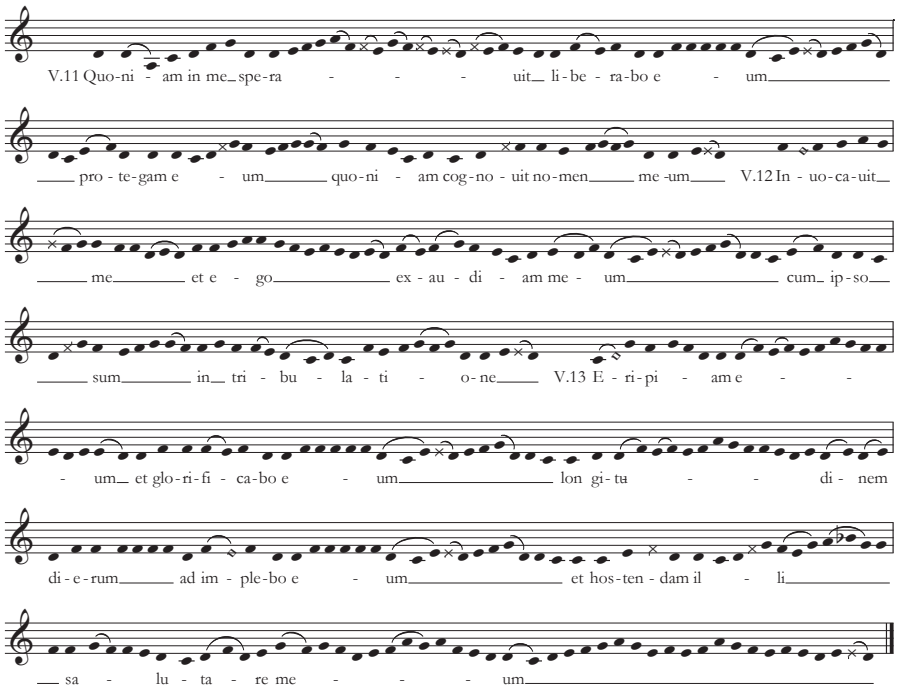

a ru - i - na et de - mo-ni-o me-ri - di - - a - no
V.7 Ca - dent a la - te-re tu-o mil -
- - le et de-cem mi - li - a a dex - tris tu - is
ti-bi au - tem non ap pro - pin - - qua -
- bit V.8 Quo-ni-am an - ge-lis su - is man - da - uit de te
ut cus-to-di - ant te in om - ni - bus ui - is
tu - is V.9 In ma-ni - bus por-ta - bunt te ne -um -
quam of-fen - das ad la - pi - dem pe - dem
tu - um V.10 Su - per as-pi - dem et ba-si - lis-cum
am-bu - la - - - - bis et con - cul - ca -
- bis le - o - - - - - nem et dra-co - - -
- nem V.11 Quo-ni - am in me spe-ra - - uit li-be-ra bo e - um
pro-te - gam e - um quo -ni-am cog-no - uit no - men



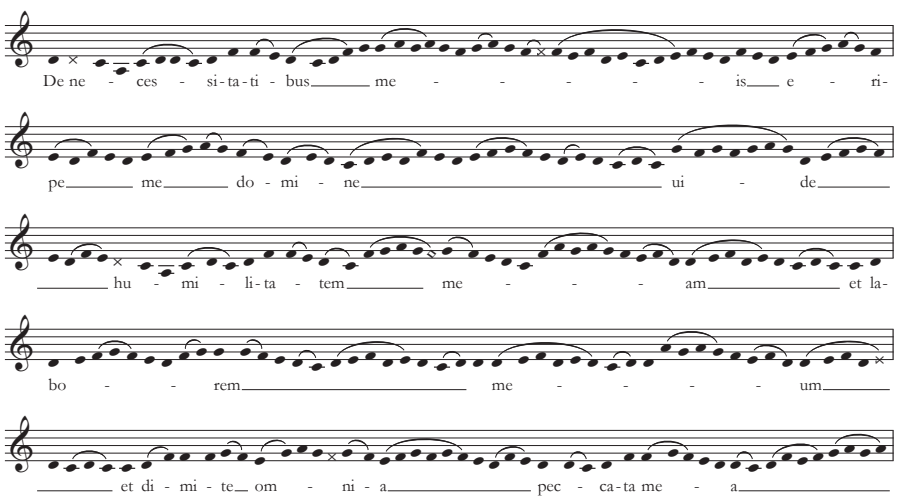

## Romano-Frankish *Qui habitat*

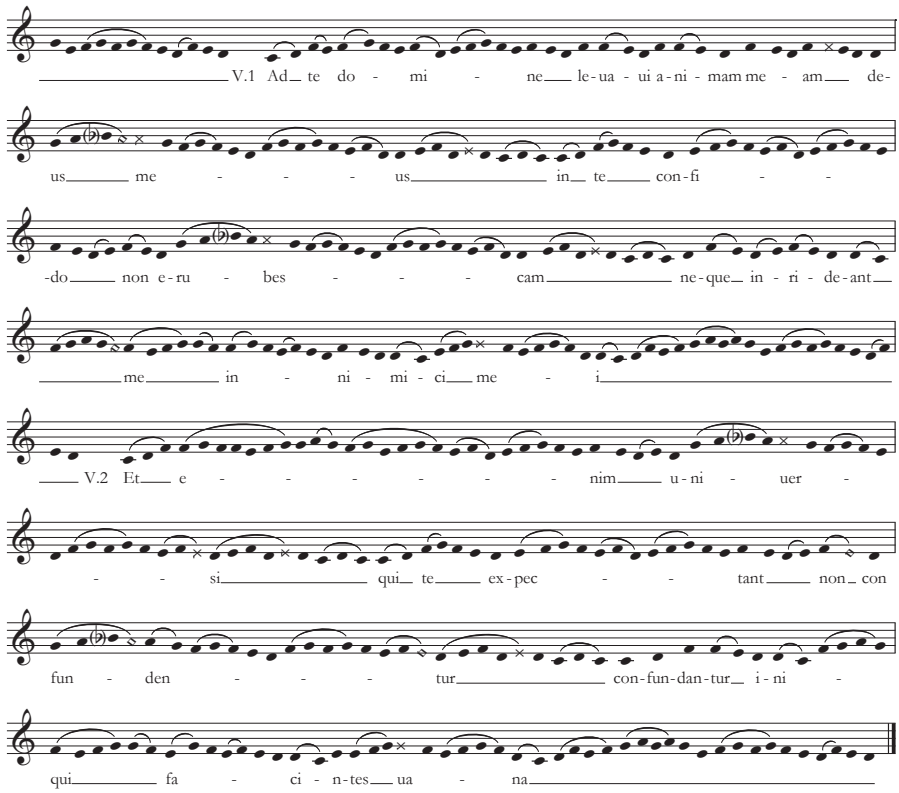



e - ius spe - ra - bis V.5 Scu-to cir cum - da - bit te ue - ri-
- tas e - ius non ti-me - bis a ti-mo-re noc -tur - no
V.6 A sa gin - ta uo-lan - - te per di - em an e- go -
-ti - o per am-bu - lan - tem in te - ne - bris a ru-i - na
et de - mo - ni - o me - ri-di-a - - - no V.7 Ca - dent
a la - te - re tu-o mi
- lle et de-cem mi - - li - a a dex-tris tu - is ti - bi au -
- tem non ad-pro-pin - qua - bit V.8 Quo-ni-am an - ge - lis su - is man
da - uit de te ut cus-to - di-am te in om-ni-bus ui-is tu -is
V.9 In ma-ni - bus por - ta - bunt te ne - um - quam of-fen - das
ad la - pi - dem pe-dem tu -um V.10 Su - per as-pi - dem
et ba-si - lis - cum am-bu-la - - - -bis et con - cul -ca -
- bis le o- - - - - nem et dra-co - - - - - nem

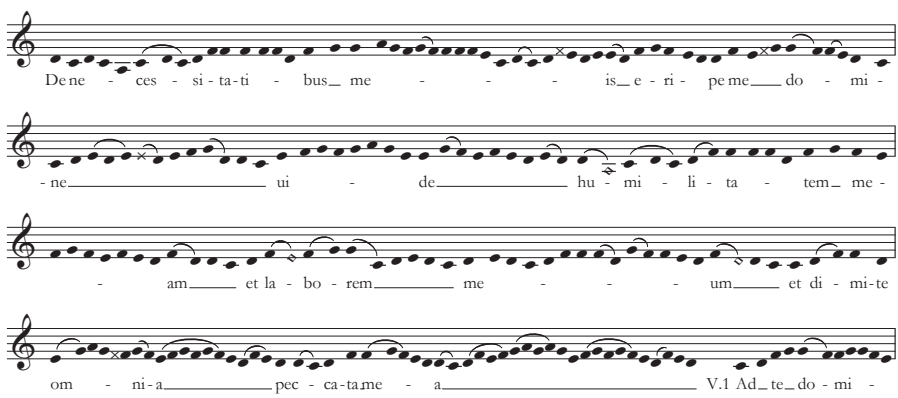


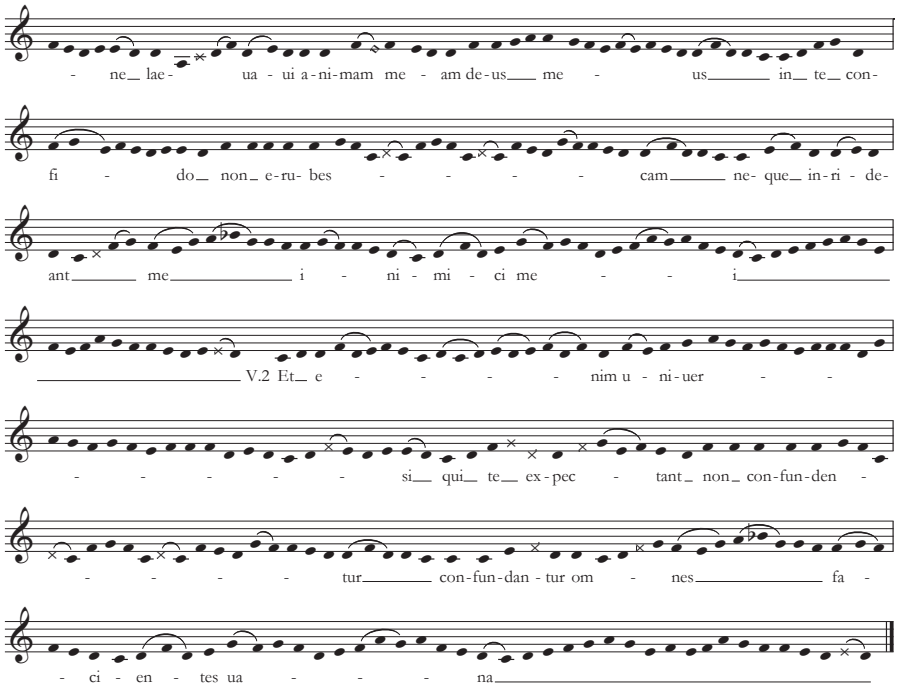

## Old Roman *De necessitatibus*



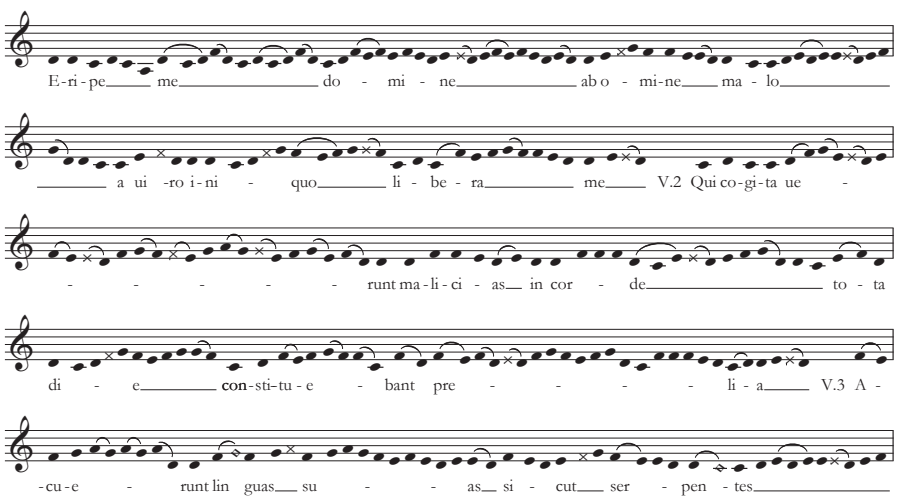


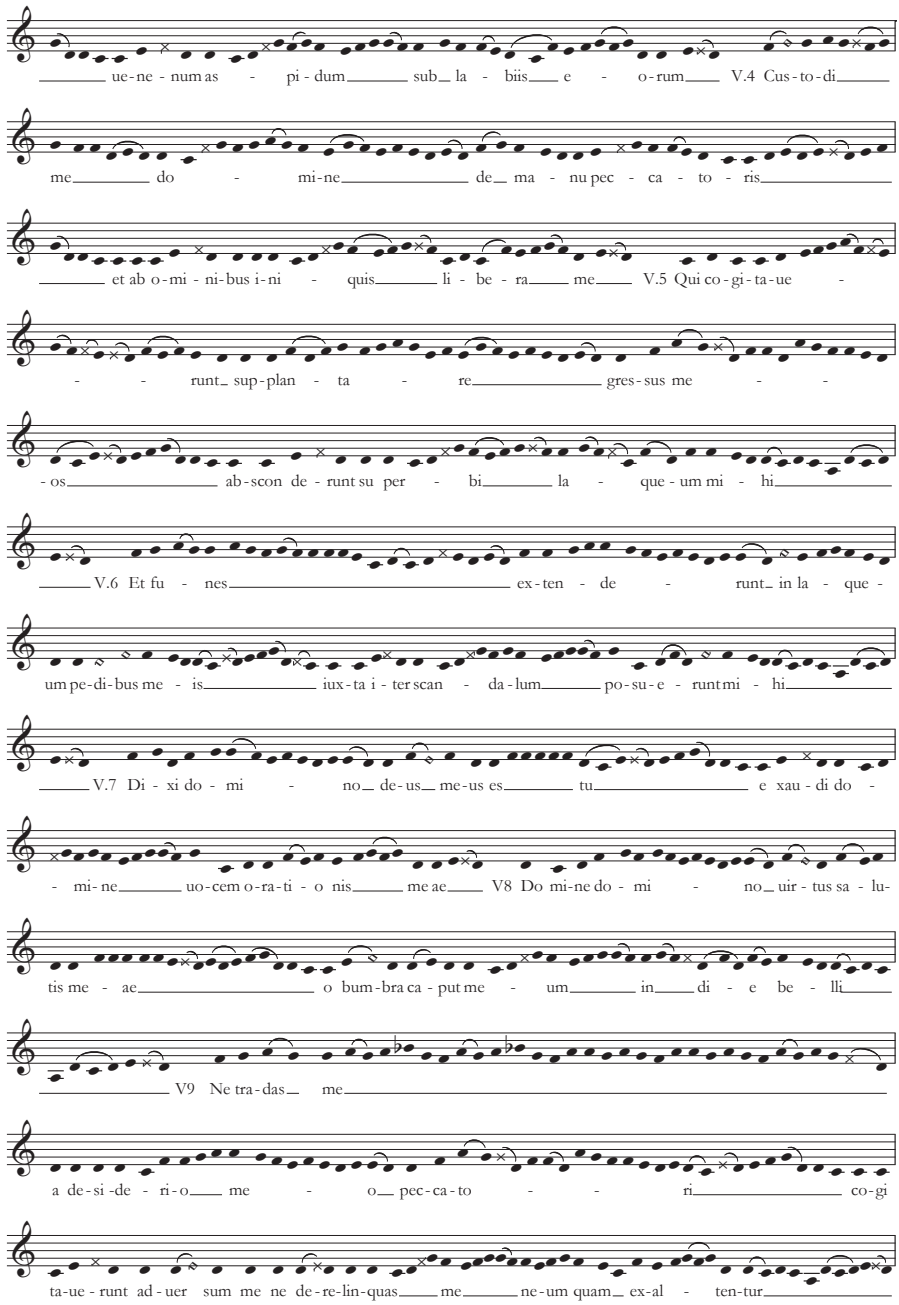

## Romano-Frankish *De necessitatibus*

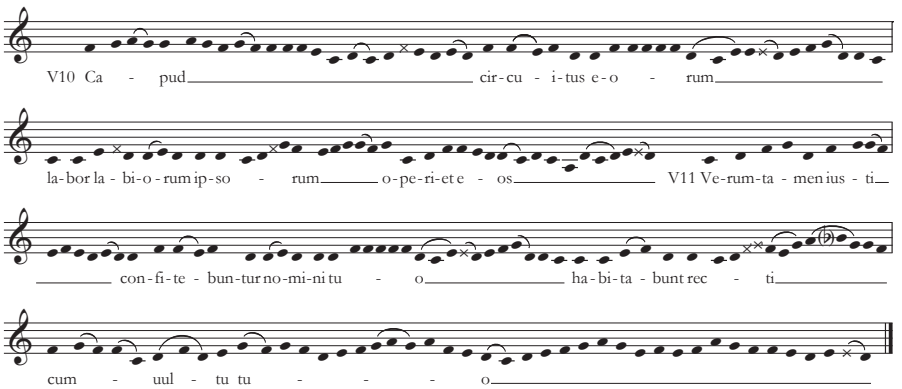




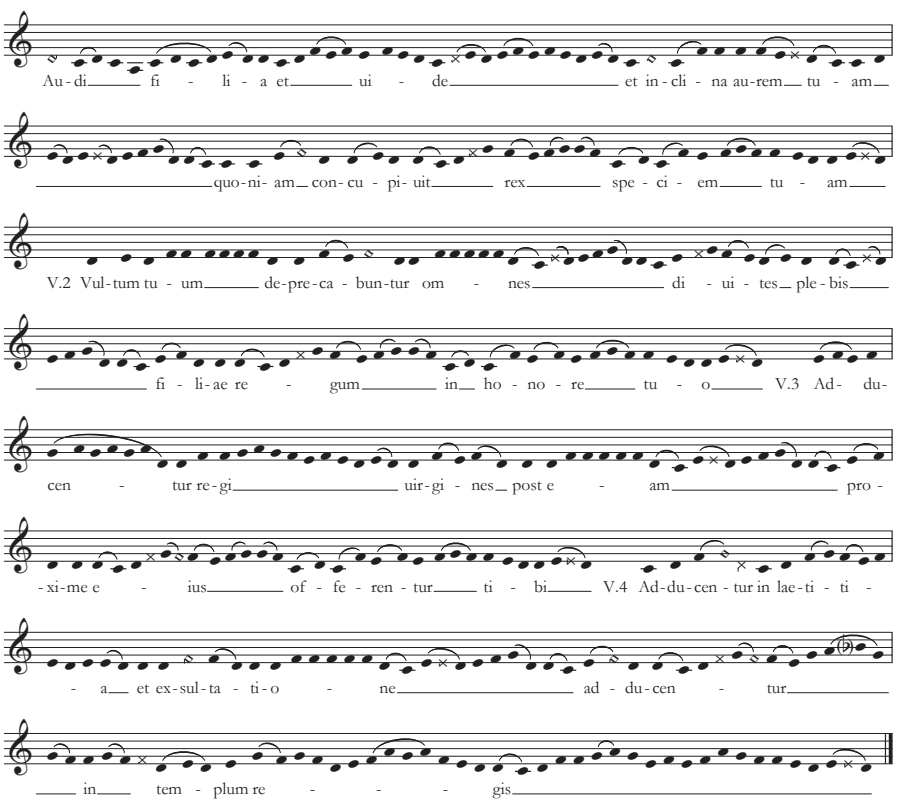

## Romano-Frankish *Eripe me*



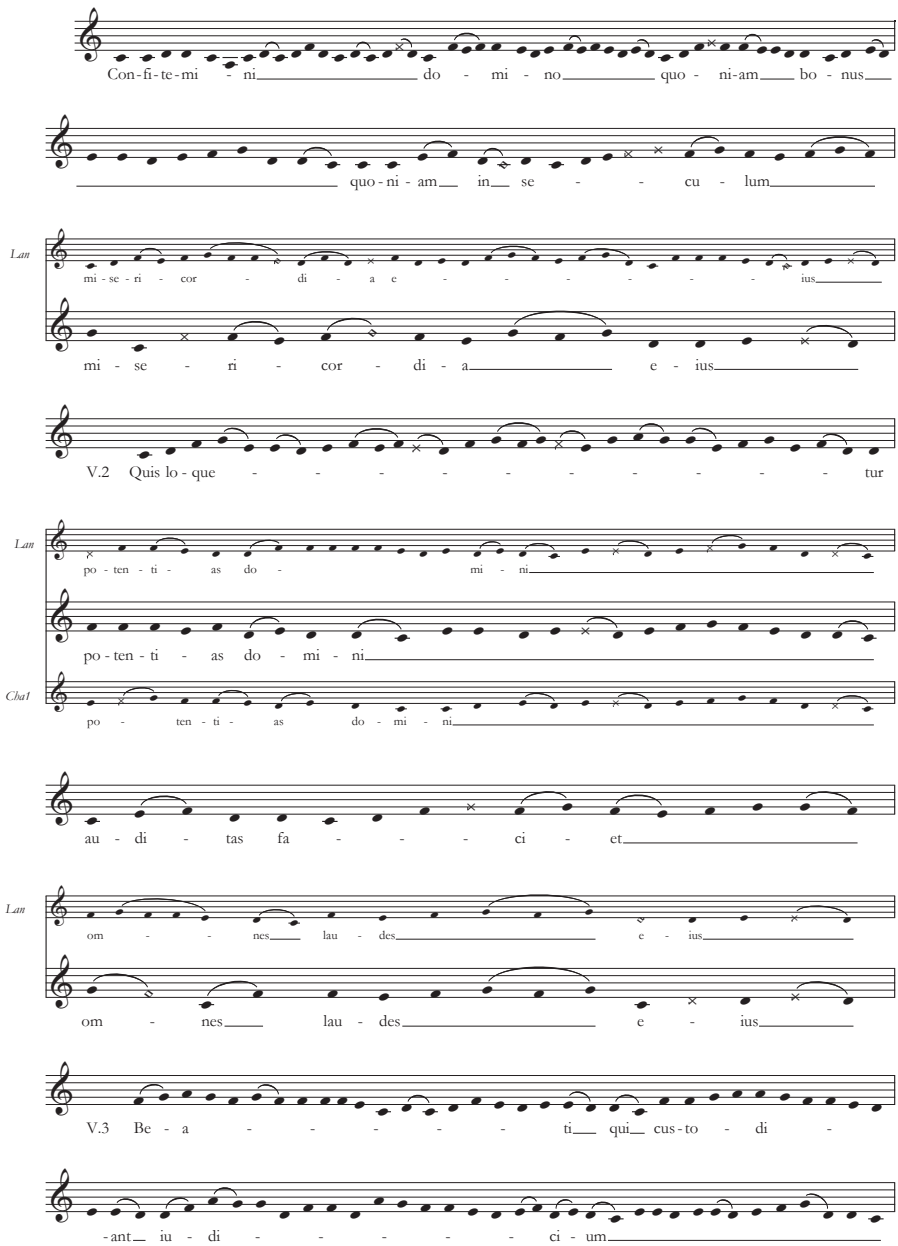

ue-ne - num as - pi - dum sub la - biis e - o-rum V.4 Cus-to-di
me do - mi-ne de ma - nu pec - ca - to - ris
et ab o-mi - ni-bus i-ni - quis li - be - ra me V.5 Qui co-gi-ta-ue -
- runt sup-plan - ta - re gres-sus me - -
- os ab-scon de - runt su per - bi la - que - um mi - hi
V.6 Et fu - nes ex-ten - de - runt in la - que -
um pe-di-bus me - is iux-ta i - ter scan - da-lum po-su-e - runt mi - hi
V.7 Di - xi do - mi - no de-us me-us es tu e xau - di do -
- mi-ne uo-cem o-ra-ti - o nis me ae V8 Do mi-ne do - mi - no uir - tus sa - lu-
tis me - ae o bum-bra ca - put me - um in di - e be - lli
V9 Ne tra-das me
a de-si-de - ri-o me - o pec-ca-to - - ri co-gi
ta-ue - runt ad - uer sum me ne de-re-lin-quas me ne-um quam ex-al - ten-tur

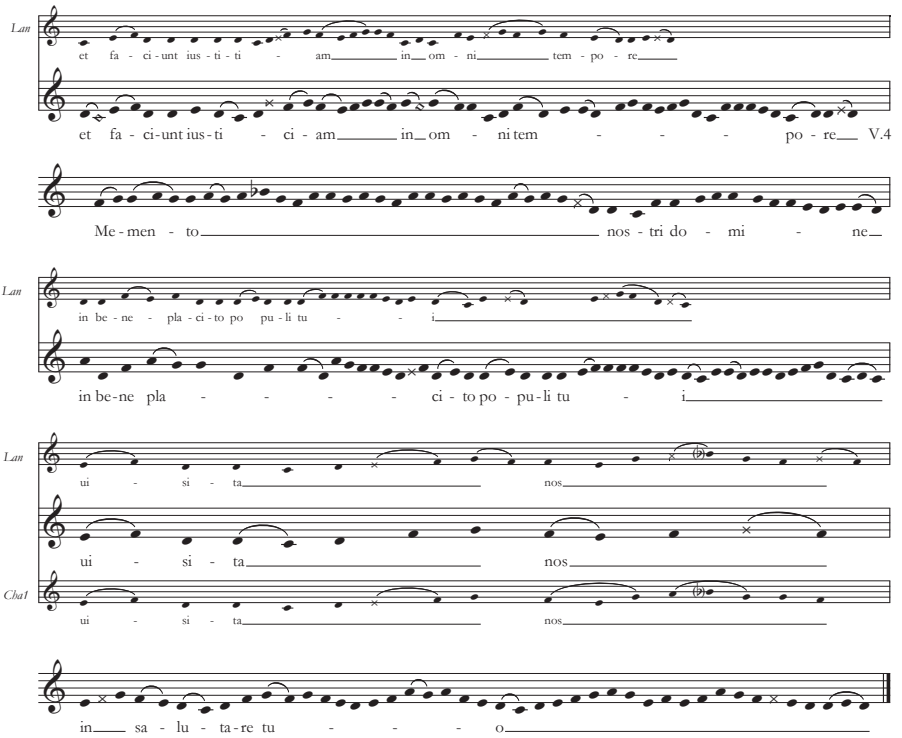



## Romano-Frankish *Audi filia* in *Gal1*

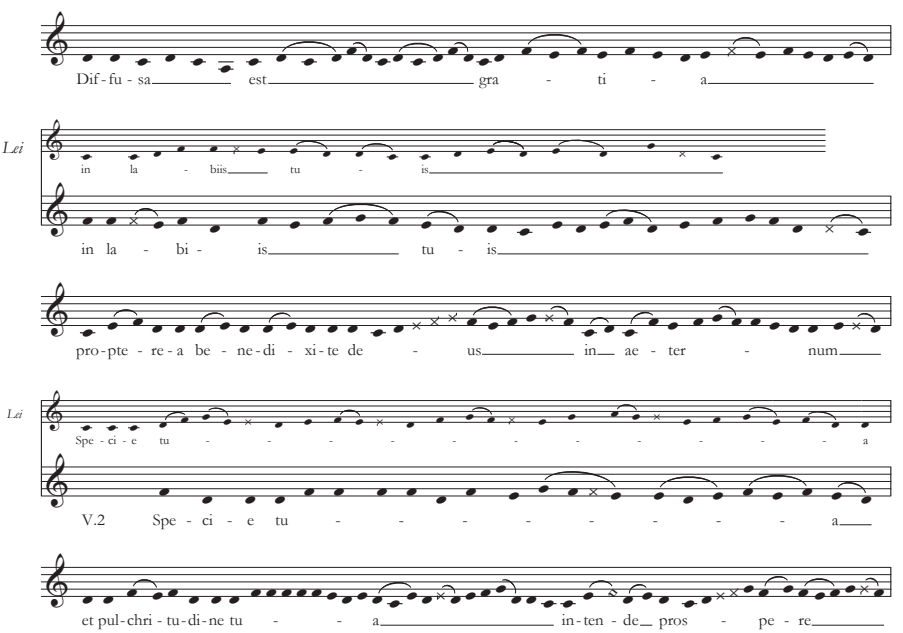


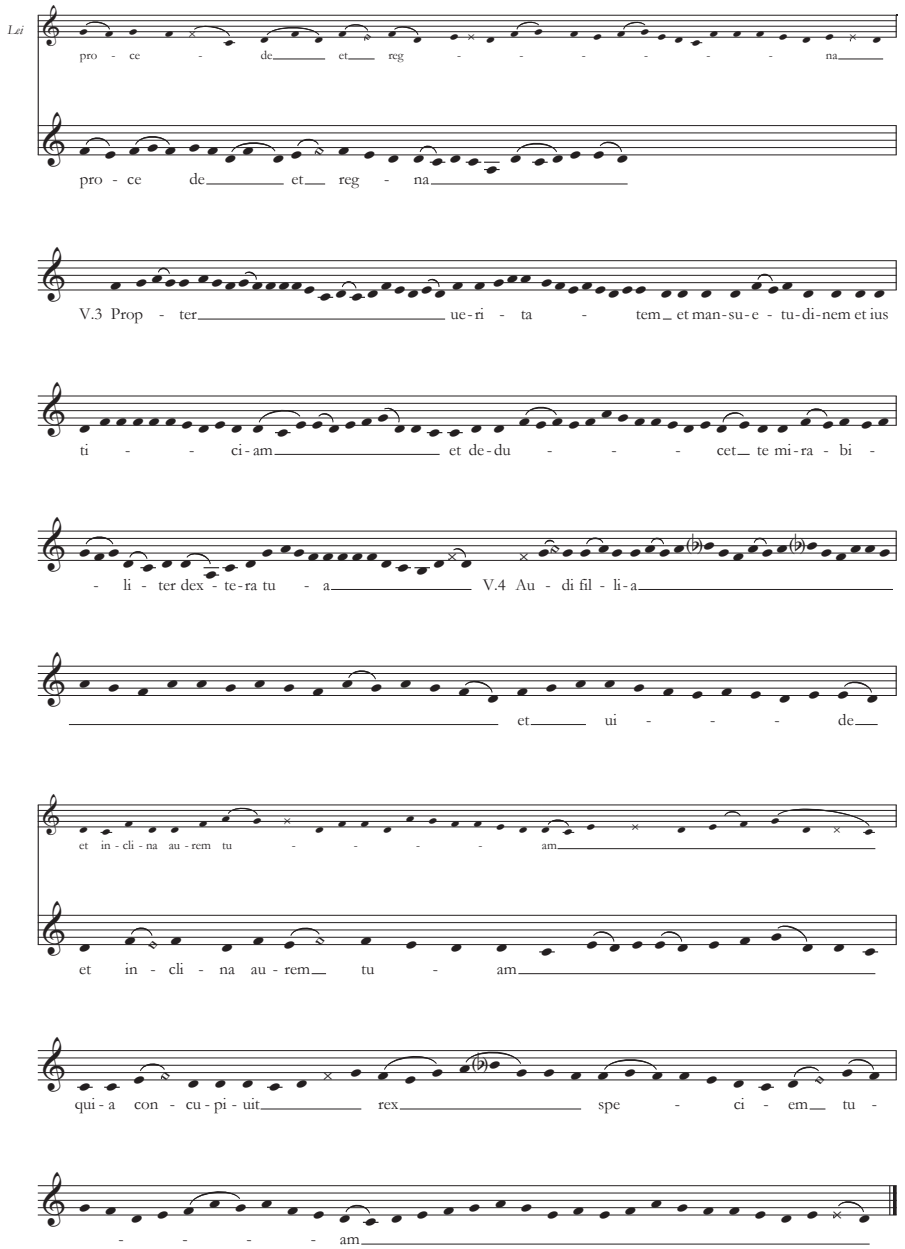
# Romano-Frankish *Confitemini*



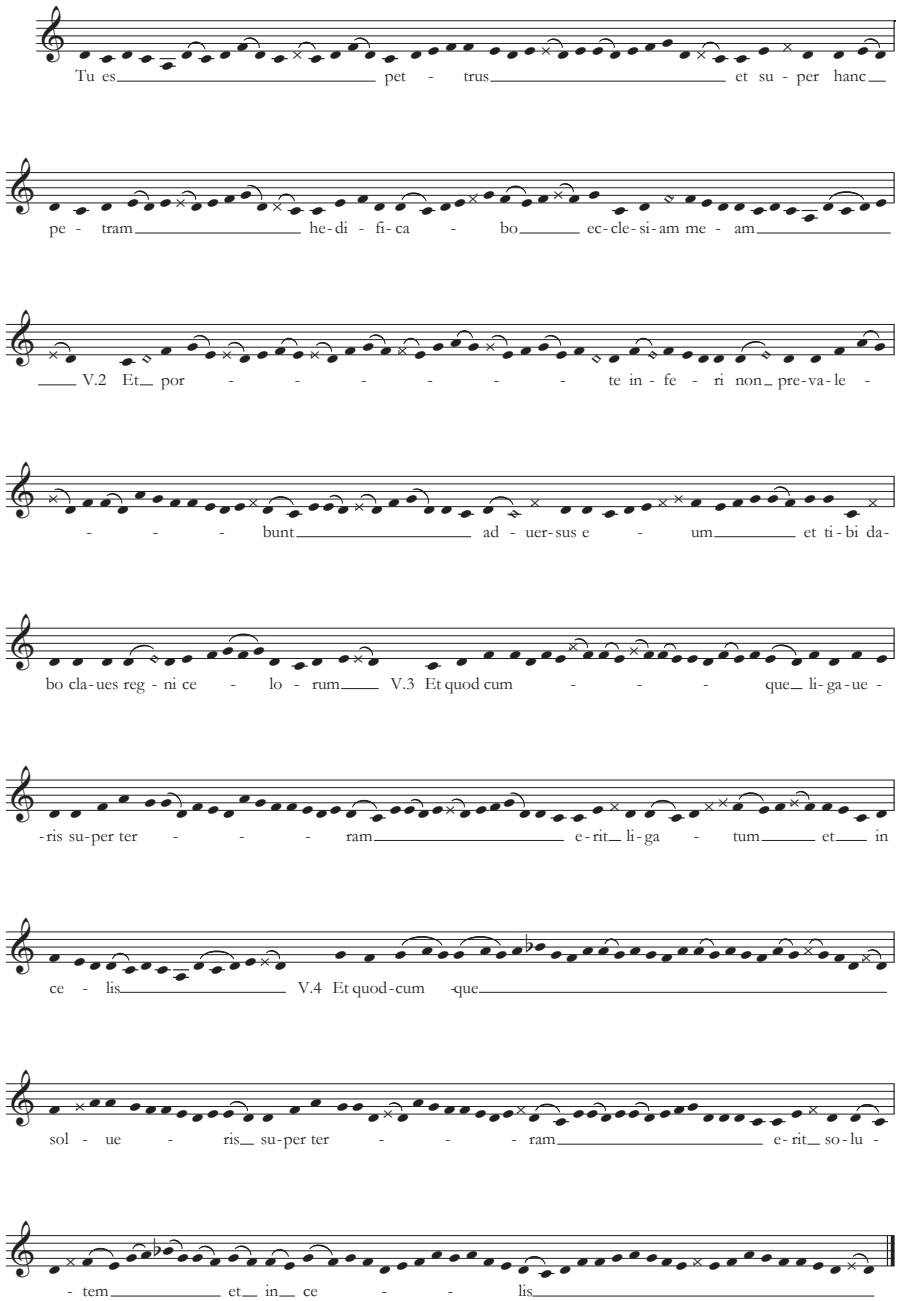


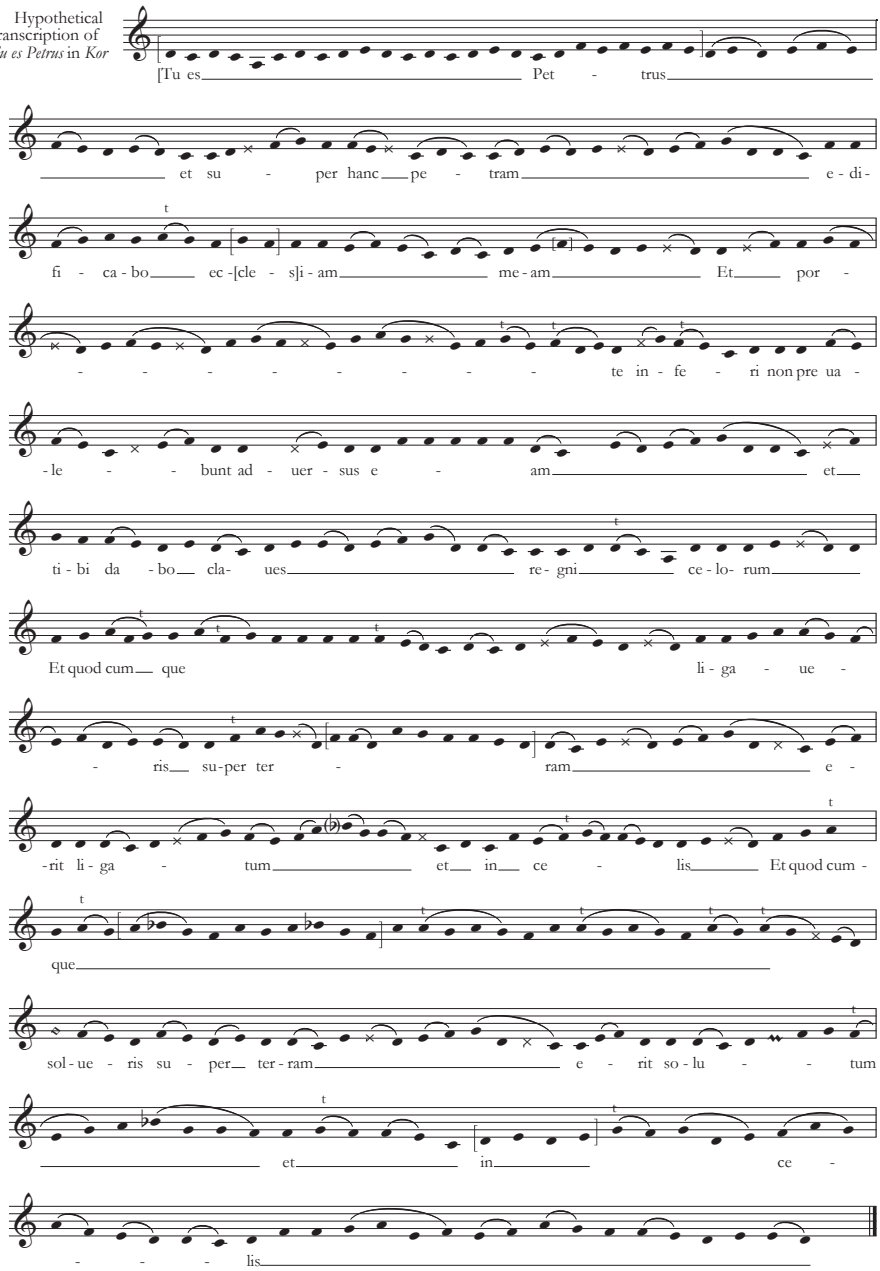

## Romano-Frankish *Diffusa est gratia*




Lai
pro - ce - de et reg - - - - - - - na
pro - ce de et reg - na
V.3 Prop - ter ue-ri - ta - tem et man-su-e - tu-di-nem et ius
ti - - ci-am et de-du - - - cet te mi-ra - bi -
- li - ter dex - te-ra tu - a V.4 Au - di fil - li-a
et ui - - - de
et in - cli - na au - rem tu - - - - am
et in - cli - na au - rem tu - am
qui - a con - cu - pi - uit rex spe - ci - em tu -
- - - - am

## Romano-Frankish *Tu es Petrus*




Hypothetical transcription of *Tu es Petrus* in *Kor*
[Tu es Pet - trus
et su - per hanc pe - tram e - di-
fi - ca - bo ec -[cle - s]i - am me - am Et por -
- - - - - - - - - te in - fe - ri non pre ua -
- le - - bunt ad - uer - sus e - am et
ti - bi da - bo cla- ues re - gni ce - lo- rum
Et quod cum que li - ga - ue -
- ris su - per ter - ram e -
- rit li - ga - tum et in ce - lis Et quod cum -
que
sol - ue - ris su - per ter - ram e - rit so - lu - - tum
et in ce -
- - - lis

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PM 10: *Antiphonale missarum Sancti Gregorii, IX^e-X^e siécle: Codex 239 de la Bibliothèque de Laon* (Solesmes, 1909).

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# INDEX


accent patterns 38–40, 43–72, 140–3, 165–73
adoptionism 149–50
Advent Project hypothesis 9–11
Alcuin 11, 149–50
Amalar of Metz 112, 134, 137–8
Angilram of Metz 116–17, 122, 135, 137
Annunciation 153–5
Antioch 157–8
Apollinaris, Claudius: *see* Claudius Apollinaris.
Arnobius 84, 87, 95, 101, 104, 106
*Ars grammatica* and *Ars musica* 41–2, 43, 77. *See also* grammar.
*Audi filia* 152–79
  melodic state and variants 164–73
  notation in *Gal1* 175–6
  provenance 154–5
  text division 173
  text, translation and parts of speech 205–6
  textual tradition 159–61
  transcription 303
  treatment of accents 167–73
Augustine of Hippo 79, 84, 91
  on Habakuk 3 19, 33, 84, 109, 110 n. 129, 275
  on Psalm 21 [22] 95, 99, 101
  on Psalm 68 [69] 106
  on Psalm 90 [91] 87, 89 n. 44, 93, 95
  on Psalm 101 [102] 102–3, 104
  on Psalm 123 [124] 93
  on Psalm 139 [140] 143 n. 20

Bede 18–19, 42, 110, 158
Brittany 156–7, 173–4

cadences 6–7, 48, 50–4, 68–9, 72, 128–9, 168
  avoided 20, 33–4, 85, 98, 100, 103
  hierarchy 42–3
  incomplete 88, 103, 129–30
  open and closed 45–7, 108
  placement of 17, 26–37, 127–8, 139–40, 165, 173
Cantatorium 121, 122–3
canticle 18, 20, 26–7, 118–20
Carolingian reforms 4, 11, 41–2
Cassiodorus 15, 32 n. 40, 81, 84
  on Psalm 21 [22] 97–8, 99 n. 80
  on Psalm 90 [91] 87, 90, 93, 95 n. 67
  on Psalm 101 [102] 101–2, 103, 104, 106
  on Psalm 139 [140] 143 n. 20
Cassian, John: *see* John Cassian.
*Cathedra Sancti Petri*: *see* St Peter's Chair.
centonisation
  musical (in the core repertory) 21–2, 52, 58–9, 63, 72, 88, 105, 131
  musical (in the Frankish tracts) 140–2, 163, 171–2, 174
  textual 146, 159, 161
Charlemagne, Emperor 11, 17 n. 25, 149
chiasmus 27
Chrodegang of Metz 10–11
Claudius Apollinaris 99
*cola* (musical) 42, 43, 45–67
collect: *see* psalm collect.
*comma* 42, 43, 67–72, 241–70 (analytical tables of the formulaic phrases)
  *comma* * 68–9, 267
    in *De necessitatibus* 132; in *Deus deus meus* 97, 99, 101; in *Domine exaudi* 107; in *Qui habitat* 90; in the Frankish tracts 139–40, 165; relationship with phrase X 70, 168
  *comma* X 69–71, 268

in *Qui habitat* 30, 55 n. 60, 89, 90; text cues 73, 99 n. 83, 129, 171–2
*comma* Y 71–2, 268
in *De necessitatibus* 131; in *Deus deus meus* 101; in *Domine exaudi* 103; in *Qui habitat* 90, 95; text cues 74, 172
commentaries 19, 81, 84. *See also individual author names*.
compline 91, 93
*Confitemini* 152–79
melodic state and variants 164–74
notation in *Lan*, *Cha1* and *Fle1* 176–8
provenance 156–7
text cues 174
text division 165
text, translation and parts of speech 207
textual tradition 161
transcription 304–5
treatment of accents 167–73
Crucifixion 94, 109–10, 149, 150
*Custodi me* (offertory) 145–9

*De divinis officiis* 136
*De necessitatibus* (gradual) 115–35
compositional chronology 134–5, 180–2
relationship with second-mode tracts 21 n. 43, 58–9, 88, 108 n. 114, 122–35, 180–2
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 133–4
text cues 129, 130, 132–3
text divisions within the verse 128
text, translation and parts of speech 201
text variants 127
transcription 299–301
verse divisions 127–8
*Deus deus meus*
genre 115–35
relationship with Frankish chants 142, 144–5, 164–7, 168, 170, 172, 174
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 95–101, 112
Christ's humiliation 98–9; God's abandonment 97; God's justice 101; lion and unicorn 99; Passion 95–100, 101; salvation of the faithful 100–1
text cues 48 n. 27–9, 52, 74, 75, 88
impact on text divisions 30, 31
text divisions within the verse 28–37
text, translation and parts of speech 2, 185–90
text variants 12, 13, 14 n. 21, 15, 16, 272–4
transcription 284–9
use of formulaic phrases 43–78
verse divisions 25–6, 27 n. 22
impact on musical state 36–7
*Dies sanctificatus* (alleluia) 46 n. 21, 110
*Diffusa est gratia* 152–79
melodic state and variants 163–75
provenance 154–5
text cues 172
text division 165
text, translation and parts of speech 208
textual tradition 160–1
transcription 305–6
treatment of accents 167–73
treatment of formulaic phrases 164–73
*Dixit dominus mulieri* 156
*Domine audiui* 81, 138
as a canticle 18, 20
genre 115–35
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 107–11, 112
Nativity 109–10
Resurrection 110–11
two living creatures 108–9
text cues 32, 76, 108, 164
text divisions within the verse 27, 28–37
to promote a particular reading 105
text, translation and parts of speech 2, 191–2
text variants 17–22, 275
transcription 289–91
use of formulaic phrases 43–78
verse divisions 24
*Domine exaudi* 138, 171
genre 115–35
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 101–7, 112
Christ suffering 104; day of judgement 106–7; petitions 101–4; repetition 101–2, 105–6; Resurrection 105–6; Sion 106–7
text cues 31, 32, 47 n. 24, 50, 76, 105, 140, 174
text divisions within the verse 27–37
text, translation and parts of speech 2, 193–5

text variants 11–17, 22, 276–7
transcription 292–4
use of formulaic phrases 21–2, 43–78
verse divisions 24
*Dominica vacat* 153, 154, 156–7

education, monastic 17, 37
Elipandus of Toledo 149–50
Ember Wednesday in Lent 117–18, 120, 123, 124, 156–7
emphatic formulaic phrases
in the core repertory 21, 28, 31, 32–3, 44, 47, 64–72, 79–113, 125, 133–4, 181–2
in the Frankish tracts 145, 151, 164–7, 174–5, 178–9
enclitic accent 39, 53, 65, 170
England 18, 156–7
*Eripe me* 136–51
relationship with *Deus deus meus* 138–9, 142, 144–5, 151
relationship with offertory *Custodi me* 145–9
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 143–5, 149–51
text cues 140
text divisions 139–40
text, translation and parts of speech 202–4
textual tradition 138–9, 280–2
transcription 301–3
understanding of the genre 77, 151
use of formulaic phrases 58, 140–3
exegesis 17, 32–3, 79–113 (esp. 80–5), 143–4, 149–51, 175, 179, 182–4
expressive text setting 182–3

Felix of Urgell 149
formulaic phrases: *see* phrases.

*Gaude maria* 152–4, 164
genre 1–2, 5, 114–35
Gethsemane 99–100
Good Friday 93–5, 109–11, 112, 116, 117–18, 121, 124 n. 31, 136–8, 150
gradual (genre) 63, 87, 104, 105, 106, 114–18, 120–3, 126–7, 134–5
grammar
musical 41–78
relationship between textual and musical 23–40, 79, 183–4
study of textual 17
Gregorian chant 4. *See also* Romano-Frankish chant.
Gregory the Great, Pope 4, 86–7
Gregory IV, Pope 138

Holy Wednesday 104, 106–7, 112, 116, 138 n. 13

*In directum* performance 9, 118–119, 120–7, 138–9
Isidore of Seville 12n19, 26

Jerome 84
on Habakuk 3 19–20, 33, 109
on Psalm 90 [91] 87, 90, 94
on Psalm 21 [22] 97 n. 73
on Psalm 101 [102] 104, 106
psalter translations 11 n. 16, 12 n. 18
John Cassian 80–1

Korvey 158, 159

Laon 156, 157
lauds 18, 20
Lectionary 84, 86–7, 93, 94, 98–9, 104, 106–7, 111
lector chant 9, 26
Leidrad 150
Leo, Pope 95, 98 n. 77, 99 n. 84

manuscripts containing chant referred to in this study. *See also* Appendix 2 *and, for text variants,* Appendix 5.
*Aki2*, *Aki3* and *Aki4* 156 n. 14
*Aki5*
melisma gaps 133; nomenclature 119, 120; repertoire 136, 155, 156 n. 10; text variants 14 n. 21, 16, 18, 126; verse divisions 25, 121 n. 17, 123–4
*Alb* 125–6, 156 n. 14, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*All1* 152, 153
*Bab1* 156 n. 10
*Bec* 173 n. 55
*Ben5* 4, 24 n. 10, 26 n. 14, 105 n. 105
*Bis2* 52 n. 49
*Bob2* 198 n. 22

*Bre* 33 n. 45, 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110, 105 n. 105, 156 n. 15, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Cant2* 26 n. 14, 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110
*Cha1*
melodic variants 164, 166, 169, 170, 171, 173–4, 207; nomenclature 120; notation 102, 176; repertoire 137, 153–6, 161 n. 35; text variants 12 n. 20, 15, 16, 18, 39, 126, 127 n. 41, 139 n. 15, 149 n. 28; verse divisions 26, 121 n. 17, 122, 123
*Cha3* xiv, 4
*Clu1* 69 n. 107, 105 n. 105, 156 n. 17, 173 n. 55
*Coc6*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 137, 146–7, 155, 156 n. 10, 159 n. 28; text variants 14 n. 21, 15–16, 18, 106 n. 108, 126, 127 n. 41, 139 n. 15; verse divisions 25 n. 11, 26, 121 n. 17, 123, 124
*Cor2*
nomenclature 120; performance practice 122; repertoire 137, 149 n. 28, 155, 156 n. 10, 159; text variants 18; verse divisions 121 n. 17, 123
*Cor3*
nomenclature 120
repertoire 156 n. 10
text variants 15, 16, 127; verse divisions 25 n. 11, 122 n. 25, 123
*Crow* 26, 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110, 173 n. 55
*Den1* 52 n. 49, 160, 161, 163, 164 n. 43
*Den5*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 146 147, 149 n. 28, 154–5, 156 n. 10; text variants 12, 15, 16, 127 n. 41; verse divisions 25 n. 11, 26, 121 n. 17, 123, 124
*Den6* 119, 120, 138, 155, 158
*Den7*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 137, 146, 149 n. 28, 155, 156 n. 10, 159, 161; text variants 14 n. 21; verse divisions 123, 124
*Dij1* 26 n. 14, 39, 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Dij2* 125–6
*Eli*
melodic variants 39 n. 56, 52 n. 49, 163 n. 41; nomenclature 120; repertoire 153, 155, 156 n. 10, 161, 164 n. 43; text variants 12 n. 20, 161, 163 n. 41; verse divisions 25 n. 11, 121 n. 17, 122 n. 25, 123
*Ext2*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 152–4, 155, 156–7; text variants 126; verse divisions 25, 26, 123
*Fle1* 3–4
facsimiles of relevant folios 221–36; melodic variants 21 n. 44, 47 n. 25, 88 n. 41, 131, 132, 140, 168–71, 173–5, 207–9; nomenclature 119–20; notation xiv, 61–2, 102, 142, 176–8; repertoire 137, 152, 153, 154 n. 2, 155, 156, 158; text division 173; text variants 15, 16, 18, 39, 71 n. 119, 126, 127 n. 41, 139 n. 15, 160; transcriptions of tracts from 284–308; use of formulaic phrases 164–7, 241–70 (analytical tables); verse divisions 26, 121 n. 17, 122, 123
*Gal1*
nomenclature 120; notation 4, 102, 175–6, 182; repertoire 137, 149 n. 28, 153, 155; text division 173; text variants 12 n. 20, 15, 39, 139 n. 15, 202 n. 1; use of formulaic phrases 164–7; verse divisions 25, 121 n. 17, 122, 123
*Gal2* 4
*Iri* 26 n. 14, 34 n. 48, 39, 60, 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Itn1* 156 n. 15
*Ivr1* 156 n. 15
*Klo1* 4, 69 n. 109
*Kor*
facsimiles of relevant folios 237–8
melodic variants 174–5; repertoire 152 n. 1, 153, 155, 158–9, 160; text division 173; text variants 161, 168 n. 52; transcriptions of tracts from 163, 308; use of formulaic phrases 162–3, 164–7, 169–71, 175, 209
*Lan*
melodic variants 17, 90 n. 45, 105 n. 105, 132, 164, 166, 169, 170, 173–4; nomenclature 120; notation 4, 176–7, 182; repertoire 137, 149 n. 28, 153, 154 n. 3, 155, 156–7, 160
text variants 12 n. 20, 14 n. 21, 15, 16, 17, 18, 39, 139 n. 15

use of formulaic phrases 164, 168 n. 52, 171; verse divisions 26, 121 n. 17, 122, 123
*Laon121* 123
*Laon266*
nomenclature 120, 123; repertoire 121, 124 n. 31, 138 n. 13, 157; verse divisions 26, 124
*Lav* 69 n. 107, 156 n. 15, 156 n. 17
*Lei*
facsimiles of relevant folios 239–40
melodic variants 172, 174, 175, 208; performance practice 159; repertoire 152, 153, 155, 160, 178; text variants 170 n. 53, 205 n. 1, 206 n. 2; textual tradition 160; use of formulaic phrases 164–7
*Leo3*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 124 n. 31, 135 n. 3, 138, 146, 149 n. 28, 155, 156 n. 10, 159; text variants 14 n. 21, 15 n. 24, 18, 124–5, 126; verse divisions 123, 124
*Luc1* 156 n. 15
*Mal1* 125–6
*Mal3* 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Mal4* 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Mog4* 69 n. 107, 69 n. 109, 105 n. 105, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Mon6*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 137, 149 n. 28, 155, 156 n. 10, 159; text variants 12, 15, 16, 18, 106 n. 108, 139 n. 15; verse divisions 25, 121 n. 17, 122–3
*Mor4* 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Mur3* 4
*Nar* 156 n. 14
*Nov2* 69 n. 109
*Noy1* 52 n. 49, 156 n. 17
*Noy3* 120, 123, 155, 156 n. 10
*Orc*
melodic variants 39, 65 n. 101; nomenclature 120; notation xiv, 48; text variants 15; transcription from 5, 241–70 (analytical tables), 284–300; verse divisions 121 n. 17, 123
*Orj*
melodic variants 39, 65 n. 101; nomenclature 120; text variants 15; verse divisions 26, 121 n. 17, 123
*Orp*
melodic variants 39, 46–7, 63, 65 n. 101, 106; nomenclature 120; text variants 15, 16; verse divisions 26, 121 n. 17, 123, 128
*Pas2*
melodic variants 69 n. 107, 69 n. 109, 105 n. 105, 166 n. 48; notation 102; text division 173 n. 55
*Rag* 26 n. 14
*Rei5*
nomenclature 120; repertoire 121, 124, 138, 149 n. 28, 154, 155, 156; text variants 16, 18; verse divisions 123
*Rog1*
melodic variants 69 n. 107, 70 n. 110, 166 n. 48; text division 173 n. 55; verse divisions 26 n. 14
*Sab* 26 n. 14, 69 n. 107, 173 n. 55
*Sam2*
nomenclature 120; performance practice 124; repertoire 137, 152 n. 1, 153, 155, 156 n. 10, 160–1; text variants 161; verse divisions 121 n. 17, 122, 123
*Sar1* 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Stm* 33 n. 45, 69 n. 107, 69 n. 109, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
*Tou* 125–6, 156 n. 14
*Tyr* 69 n. 109, 105 n. 105
*Vaa1* 52 n. 49
*Vec1* 52 n. 49
*Vin2* 52 n. 49
*Vor1* 173 n. 55
*Yrx* 126 n. 38, 156 n. 14, 166 n. 48, 173 n. 55
Martianus Capella 41
*Martyrologium Hieronymianum* 158
Mass Proper chants, definition 3
Maximus of Turin 94, 95, 99
Maximus Victorinus 25 n. 11
Metz 10–11, 116–17, 137–8
monastic education: *see* education, monastic.
music theory: *see Ars musica.*
*neuma*: *see syllaba.*
notation xiv, 8, 18, 77, 152, 162, 175–9. *See also under individual manuscripts and individual tracts.*
Palaeo-Frankish 42, 162–3

*Oculi mei* 153, 156
*Offerentur regi* (offertory) 161
Old Roman chant (definition) 4–6
relationship with Romano-Frankish chant: *see* Romano-Frankish chant.
orality 2–3, 6, 37, 71 n. 117, 77–8, 151, 179, 182. *See also* progressive stereotyping.
*Ordines Romani* 117, 118–19, 123–4, 126, 136, 137, 139
*Ordo Romanus* I 10, 121
*Ordo Romanus* IV 122
*Ordo Romanus* XIV 137
*Ordo Romanus* XXIII 93 n. 55, 119, 121, 123, 136 n. 3
*Ordo Romanus* XXIV 117 n. 10, 119, 136 n. 3
*Ordo Romanus* XXVII 117 n. 10, 119, 136 n. 3, 137 n. 4
*Ordo Romanus* XXVIII 117 n. 10, 119, 136 n. 3, 137 n. 4
*Ordo Romanus* XXIX 117 n. 10, 119, 136 n. 3
*Ordo Romanus* XXXA 124 n. 31, 138
*Ordo Romanus* XXXB 119, 136 n. 3
*Ordo Romanus* XXXI 117–18 n. 10, 119, 124, 137 n. 4
*Ordo Romanus* XXXII 119, 124, 138 n. 12
*Ordo Romanus* XXXIII 119
*Ordo Officiorum Ecclesie Lateranensis* 121
ornament xiv, 61–2, 79–80, 142, 168 n. 52, 178

Passion Sunday 95–6, 98–100, 112, 117, 138 n. 13
Passover 94, 99
Paulinus 149
*per cola et commata* 24, 27, 42
performance practice 79–80, 102, 120–7, 175–8. *See also in directum* performance and responsorial performance.
Philocalus 157–8
phrases
hybrid: *see* hybrid phrases.
phrase **0** 59–61, 241
uses in the core repertory 32, 97 n. 74, 181; uses in the Frankish tracts 140, 164
phrase **1a** 45 n. 17, 47, 242–3
material 34, 48, 49, 56 n. 66, 97, 100–1, 105, 147–8; text cues 31, 75, 108, 140; uses in the core repertory 26, 29, 33–4, 49, 74 n. 125, 97, 105; uses in the Frankish tracts 140, 164 n. 45, 165 n. 46, 174, 175
phrase **1b** 45 n. 17, 47, 244
material 148; text cue (Frankish tract) 140; use in alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* 110; uses in the core repertory 47 n. 26, 106, 110,
phrase **1c** 45 n. 17, 61–2, 243
uses in the core repertory 47 n. 24 108, 176–7; uses in the Frankish tracts 140, 164, 172, 174, 176–7
phrase **1d** 45 n. 17, 48–9, 245
as a default *D*-phrase 29, 49, 132; material 147; text cues 26, 48–9, 61, 70 n. 111, 73, 74, 75, 98, 100, 132; uses in the core repertory 47 n. 24, 74, 85, 181; uses in the Frankish tracts 140, 144, 163 n. 41, 165
phrase **1e** 64–5, 246
uses in the core repertory 75, 90, 97; use in Frankish tracts 165
phrase **1f** 64–5, 246
material 147; use in the core repertory 90, 99, 110, 198 n. 22; use in Frankish tracts 145, 165, 176
phrase **1g** 46, 49–50, 68, 181, 247
material 33, 48; text cues 30–1, 73, 75, 76; use in *De necessitatibus* 128, 129; use in *Eripe me* 140; use in the core repertory 29, 30–1, 33–4, 35, 107, 108
phrase **2a** 50–1, 51 n. 44, 52
use in the core repertory 31, 53 n. 51, 75; use in the Frankish tracts 169, 172, 173–4
phrase **2a1** 51, 248–9
accent patterns 39; material 88, 169, 174; text cues 32, 100; use in the core repertory 44 n. 15, 53 n. 52, 70, 73, 101; use in the Frankish tracts 140–1, 144, 165–6, 167, 168, 172, 173
phrase **2a2** 51–2, 74, 110, 168 n. 52, 250
phrase **2a3** 52, 54, 249
text cue 140; use in the core repertory 51, 53, 74; use in the Frankish tracts 169, 174

phrase **2b** 50–1, 169, 174, 175
text cue 76; use in the core repertory 54, 90
phrase **2b1** 52–3, 251
use in the core repertory 31, 51, 73, 75
phrase **2b2** 40, 53–4, 252
material 103; use in *De necessitatibus* 129, 130; use in the Frankish tracts 140, 141–2, 169, 172
phrase **2b3** 54, 74, 251
phrase **2b4** 65, 253
use in the core repertory 52 n. 47, 53, 97; use in the Frankish tracts 166–7, 174
phrase **2c** 66, 109, 130, 254
material 53–4, 71, 88, 103, 129, 130, 147, 148; text cues 88, 130; use in *De necessitatibus* 131; use in the core repertory 50 n. 40, 51, 90, 93, 98, 100, 106, 107, 108–9
phrase **2d** 66, 253
material 69, 70, 166, 168 n. 52, 174; use in the core repertory 98, 99; use in the Frankish tracts 144–5, 166, 174, 175
phrase **3** 257
material 30–1, 34, 71 n. 117, 72, 73, 88, 90, 103; text cue 47 n. 24, 76, 105; use in the core repertory 51, 70, 71 n. 118; use in the Frankish tracts 140, 162–3, 170, 173, 174–5, 176
phrase **3a** 54–5, 255–8
accent patterns 38; use in the core repertory 39, 74; use in the Frankish tracts 139, 170, 174
phrase **3b** 54–5, 259
use in the core repertory 39; use in the Frankish tracts 170, 174
phrase **3c** 61–3, 259
use in *De necessitatibus* 125, 133–4; use in the core repertory 21, 38, 125; use in the Frankish tracts 163 n. 41
phrase **4a** 55, 131, 260–1
material 58, 59, 70 n. 114, 73, 88, 89, 97, 105 n. 105, 171–2; use in the core repertory 31, 56, 59, 71, 72, 90, 97; use in the Frankish tracts 142, 171–2, 173–4, 181
phrase **4a-f** 58–9, 131, 262
use in the core repertory 63, 103–4, 105
phrase **4b** 55–6, 263
material 88, 105 n. 105, 142, 163; use in the core repertory 59, 91, 181; use in the Frankish tracts 142–3, 171, 173, 174, 175
phrase **4c** 56–8, 264
material 72, 73, 90, 97; use in the core repertory 55, 59, 72, 73, 181; use in the Frankish tracts 58, 166, 173–4
phrase **4d** 58, 59, 181, 263
material 56 n. 65, 97, 130–1
phrase **4e** 58, 59, 265
material 63, 105; use in the core repertory 14 n. 22, 181 n. 2
phrase **4f** 59, 63, 130–1, 266
material 21, 58, 59, 104, 105, 130, 142, 171; use in the core repertory 125–6, 131, 133–4; use in the Frankish tracts 140, 142, 163 n. 41, 167, 170, 171, 181
phrase **X** 69–71, 168, 268. *See also comma* **X**.
relationship with *comma* * 70, 168; use in the core repertory 49, 52 n. 46, 100
phrase **Z** 66–7, 100–1, 270
material 25–6, 55, 100–1; use in *De necessitatibus* 129, 130, 131; use in the core repertory 56 n. 65, 65, 90, 91–2, 93–4, 95; use in the Frankish tracts 145, 163, 164–5, 171–2, 174–5; unique phrases 8, 45, 77–8, 151, 182 (*see also* hybrid phrases); in *De necessitatibus* 129, 130, 132; in *Deus deus meus* 97, 100; in *Domine audiui* 21–2, 30, 33, 35–6, 108–9, 110; in *Domine exaudi* 21–2, 53–4, 103–4, 105; in *Qui habitat* 29, 88
Pippin III, King 11
progressive stereotyping 19, 22, 29, 43–72, 77–8, 104, 105, 130–3, 167 n. 50, 173–5, 180
psalms 118
divisions between verses 24–6
divisions within verses 26–37
in the early church 9–10
structural parallels with tracts 6–7, 51
psalm collects 81–3, 87, 90, 93, 95, 98, 100 n. 86, 101

psalter 20, 24, 87 n. 35
gaulois 11, 139
Gallican 11, 105, 107 n. 110, 127, 139, 150, 159–60, 161
Roman 11–12, 24–6, 27, 37, 127, 139, 145–6, 147, 149–50, 159–60, 161
Bosworth 19, 24, 27 n. 22, 30, 31, 32, 36 n. 51, 52 n. 49; Regius 18, 24 n. 7, 27, 30 n. 35, 31; Vespasian 18, 24, 27 n. 22
text variants 11–17, 22, 127, 139, 159–60, 161, 271–82
Pseudo-Alcuin 136
Pseudo-Matthew 109
Purification 153, 154–5

Quadragesima 9, 86–7, 93–5, 112, 145
*Qui habitat* 9, 10, 136–8, 181
genre 115–35
relationship with Frankish tracts 138–9, 145, 169, 171–2, 174, 178
rhetorical and exegetical emphasis 85–95, 112
battle image 90–1; devil 91–3; faithful trusting God 87–90, 100; Passion 93–5; Temptation 86–7
text cues 44, 48 n. 27–29, 51, 52, 54, 72, 73–5, 99 n. 83, 140, 172
impact on text divisions 30–1
text divisions within the verse 27–37
text, translation and parts of speech 2, 196–200
text variants 11–17, 277–80
impact on melodic shape 17
transcription 295–9
use of formulaic phrases 43–78
verse divisions 25
Quodvultdeus 109

Remigius of Auxerre 143
responsorial performance 21, 58, 59, 63, 116, 118–27, 133–4, 159, 181–2
rhetoric 79–80, 85–113, 125, 134, 144–5, 151, 164–6, 178–9, 182
Roman origin of chant 4–6, 9–22, 84, 180
Romano-Frankish chant (definition) 4–6
relationship with Old Roman chant 4–6, 43–78, 84–113, 127–34, 145–9
Rome 2, 3, 75, 83, 84, 136, 138

Sacramentary 119, 156, 158
St Peter's Chair 154, 157–9
*Schola cantorum* 9–11, 112–13, 121–2, 126, 134, 180
second-mode tract
analytical terminology 6–7
compositional chronology and dating 9–11, 59, 180–2
functioning as a gradual 117–18
medieval understanding of the genre 77–8, 115–35, 152–79
melodic emphasis: *see* emphatic formulaic phrases.
melodic variants 3–4, 6, 69–70. *See also under individual manuscripts*.
in *De necessitatibus* 63, 131, 132; in *Deus deus meus* 34 n. 48, 39, 47 n. 25, 65 n. 101, 69 n. 107; in *Domine audiui* 21 n. 44, 33 n. 45, 60, 125–6; in *Domine exaudi* 46–7, 105 n. 105, 125–6; in *Qui habitat* 17, 46–7, 52 n. 49, 63, 88 n. 41, 90 n. 45; in the Frankish tracts 162–78
relationship with responsories 60 n. 83
text cues: *see under each individual tract*.
Septuagint 11 n. 16, 18–20, 22, 36, 81
silence 34 n. 48, 47, 79, 88
Sion 106–7
Stephen I, Pope 10
*stipendia* 2, 116–17, 119, 122, 137
*syllaba* 43–5, 51, 59, 88, 147–8
*syllaba* V 31, 44, 49, 74, 85, 98, 268
*syllaba* W 26, 30, 44–5, 48 n. 28, 49, 85, 89 n. 44, 90, 98, 100, 101, 168, 172, 181, 269
syntax 23–37, 43, 45, 46–7, 49–50, 68–9, 73, 75, 77, 85, 88, 101, 102, 108–9, 127–8, 139–40, 165, 173

Temptation 86–7, 93, 94–5, 112
*Tituli psalmorum* 81–3, 84, 87–8, 91, 95, 98–9, 104, 106, 107
tract, definition 1–2. *See also* second-mode tract.
*Tu es petrus* 152–79
melodic emphasis in *Kor* 175
melodic state and variants 164–75
in *Kor* 162–3
notation in *Fle1* 176–8

provenance 157–9
text cues 164
text division 173
text, translation and parts of speech 209
textual tradition 159
transcription 307–8
treatment of accents 167–73

Utrecht Psalter 143

Vulgate text, relationship with *Domine audiui* 19–22, 63

word painting 182–3

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